Clarendon Press Series

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

DE CONIURATIONE CATILINAE

DE BELLO IUGURTHINO

CAPES

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK
TORONTO AND MELBOURNE



Capes's Sallust

Clarendon Press

Clarendon Press Series

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

DE CONIURATIONE CATILINAE
LIBER

DE BELLO IUGURTHINO
LIBER

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

W. W. CAPES, M.A.,

FORMERLY FELLOW AND TUTOR OF HERTFORD COLLEGE
AND READER IN ANCIENT HISTORY

SECOND EDITION

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1897

OXFORD
PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
BY HORACE HART, M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PRINTED IN ENGLAND.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
DE CONIURATIONE CATILINAE	49
DE BELLO IUGURTHINO	91
NOTES TO THE CATILINARIAN CONSPIRACY	171
NOTES TO THE JUGURTHINE WAR	235
INDEX OF PERSONS, PLACES, AND LAWS REFERRED TO IN THE INTRODUCTION AND NOTES	309

PREFACE.

The text here adopted is that of H. Jordan (2nd ed., 1876), who has taken for his main authority the MS. of the National Library of Paris, which is known as Sorb. 500 or P, following it even in such occasional inconsistencies of orthography as seem due to the variations of archaic usage, and not to obvious blunders. Brevity has been studied throughout in the Notes, and no attempt has been made to deal exhaustively with the exegetical literature upon the subject, or to discuss the character and value of the MSS[1]. It has been thought desirable to illustrate in some detail the influence of Sallust on the language and style of Tacitus, as well as his own probable obligations to Thucydides and others; but parallel passages have been referred to sparingly in other cases, though ample stores have been collected in the Commentaries of Kortte, Kritz, Fabri, and others.

In the Introduction mention has been made of the chief authorities to be consulted, but an article of M Renan, entitled 'La Société Berbère' (Revue des deux-mondes, 1 Sept., 1873), should have been also specified in connection with the characteristics of the native races of Northern Africa.

[1] Cf. the Prefaces to the 1st and 2nd editions of Jordan, and his article in Hermes, vol. i.

*** In the passages quoted from Sallust (as from other authors) in the Notes, the references are to chapter and paragraph, not to page and line.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE LIFE AND WORKS OF SALLUST.

SCARCELY any of the men who were most prominent in Latin literature were born in Rome itself, or were members of the noble families which resided chiefly in the capital, and C. Sallustius Crispus was no exception to the rule. He came of a plebeian stock, for he was afterwards tribune of the commons, and of a family in which we hear only of equestrian rank (Tac. Ann. 3. 30. 3). His native place was Amiternum in the Sabine highlands, which were the seat in early days of a hardy population famed for their simple life and homely virtues.

The Claudian family indeed, which was of Sabine race, and whose ancestor is spoken of by Vergil (Aen. 7. 706) in close connexion with the bands of Amiternum, bore a very different character in Roman story, and no such features can be traced in the life and works of Sallust. The year of his birth, 86 B.C., was the date of the capture of Athens, and of Sulla's career of conquest in the East, which was soon followed by a reign of terror throughout Central Italy, by which the great dictator thought to secure the ascendancy of the great governing families of Rome, and the permanence of the old forms of Senatorian rule. All opposition was stifled for a while by a policy of merciless repression, but the desolation caused by civil warfare in the country and the proscriptions in the city left bitter memories which lingered on during the growing years of Sallust, and steadily increased the strength of the popular reaction. The ruling families were far too exclusive to attract to their side a young man of ambition who had no great name or powerful connexions at his back. There were no distinct professions in the social life of Rome, such as Law and Medicine, and the Civil Service, now present. Literature had no career to offer; and the readiest course was to swell the

cry for popular rights, and choose a party leader who could help him to push on. It was in this way probably that he became *tribunus plebis* in 52 B.C., the year in which Clodius was murdered in the fray with Milo, and Sallust certainly helped to avenge him, possibly from friendship for the fallen demagogue, or, as ancient writers tell us, from hatred of Milo, with whose wife he had intrigued, and from whose righteous anger he had barely escaped with life and limb (*loris bene caesum*, Aul. Gell. 17. 18). The story is given on the authority of Varro, a grave and honest man, as also of Asconius, to say nothing of the later writers, and we cannot easily discredit evidence so attested, though the zeal which Sallust showed in stirring up the people's anger against Milo, and against Cicero, who came forward as his advocate, may be otherwise explained as prompted by the interests of party or of justice. Two years afterwards he was degraded from the Senate by the censor Appius Claudius, and the ground assigned was the scandal of his licentious life. There must have been some foundation for the charge ; for true as it may be that in this and in like cases the censor was believed to act in the spirit of a partisan rather than a judge, yet precedent required him to state some colourable reasons when he struck names off the Senate's roll; and Cicero says that Appius was acting like a rigid moralist in the hope possibly that men might forget his own questionable antecedents (*persuasum est ei, censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse*, ad Fam. 8. 14).

We might indeed treat as mere malignant gossip the charges contained in the forgery of later date, called the Invective of Cicero against Sallust, where we read how he ruined himself by riotous living, and brought his father's grey hairs in sorrow to the grave, how he disgraced himself by nameless vices, and owned his infamy before the Senate (5. 14). So too we might disregard the epithets of 'spendthrift, winebibber, and debauchee,' with which his memory was blackened by Lenaeus, a freedman of Pompeius, who resented the terms in which the historian had spoken of his patrons (Suetonius Gramm. 15). But after making all allowance for the fact that in those days of faction the foulest calumnies were banded to and fro, and few could hope to pass with an unsullied name, still we must own that the grave charges of the disorders of his earlier life come to us

through many channels, and we have no evidence on which to set aside the verdict of his own and later ages. (Asconius, Schol. ad Hor. S. 1. 2. 41, Macrobius S. 3. 13. 9, Servius ad Verg. Aen. 6. 612, Dion Cass. 40. 63, Lactantius Inst. Div. 2. 12.)

But the Civil War was near at hand, and Caesar was not careful of the antecedents of his partisans. The men of tarnished fame or ruined fortunes found a haven of refuge in his camp, and looked to his unfailing bounty to open up for them a new career. Sallust among others joined his cause, and was ready for active service in the field. His first command was in Illyricum, where he gained no distinction (Orosius 6. 15). Still he had for his reward, in 47 B.C., a praetorship to raise him to the Senatorian rank which he had forfeited before (Dion Cass. 42. 52). Soon after he was in imminent danger of his life from the mutinous soldiers whom he was commissioned to lead from Campania to the campaign in Africa, and who pursued him almost to the gates of Rome, where Caesar alone could pacify their fury. Next year he was sent with a detachment of the fleet from Leptis to seize the stores of the enemy lodged in the island of Cercina. This he achieved with full success (De Bello Afric. 34), and at the close of the year, when the war came to an end, he was left to rule as proconsul the newly-annexed kingdom of Numidia, which became the subject province of Nova Africa (Bell. Afr. 97).

We have no details of his administrative work, but it would seem that, like so many of the unscrupulous governors of the Republic, he enriched himself at the expense of the provincials, who vainly tried to call him to account when he returned to Rome with his ill-gotten wealth. This information comes to us indeed from questionable sources, from the forged invective written in the name of Cicero (7. 19), and the history of Dion Cassius, who seems always ready to accept the worst story to a man's discredit (43. 9). But the charges tally with the fact that he lived afterwards in state in his great house on the Quirinal, which, with his splendid gardens (*horti preciosissimi*, Ps. Cic. Inv. 7. 19), bore his name still centuries later, though they had become an imperial residence where Vespasian lived and Nerva died, and Aurelian enjoyed his covered portico a thousand paces long (Dion C. 66. 10, Vopisc. 49). It was

there too that were found some of the noble works of ancient art which adorn the sculpture galleries of modern times. We have no reason to believe that his family was rich, or his own means ample at an earlier date, and to a Roman of his times there seemed no readier road to fortune than to sweep into his coffers the plunder of a province. For the men of the world and politicians of that age the moral standard was a low one; Sallust probably was not much better nor much worse than many others round him, and nothing would be known about the immoralities of his private life, and the grave abuses of official power, if jealousy and party spirit had not dragged them forth into the light of day. The moralists of a later age indeed could not but contrast the severe judgments of the writer with the reported vices of the man; they could not forgive him his censorious tones (*seriae illius et severae orationis*, A. Gell. 17. 18), or his complaints of the luxury around him (*alienae luxuriae objurgator*, Macrob. 3. 13. 9), or his lofty moral maxims (*servivit foedissimis voluptatibus, suamque ipse sententiam pravitate dissolvit*, Lactant. 2. 12). He might deplore indeed the follies of the past and hold aloof from public life in later years, but it seemed an easy thing to retire from the contest when the prize was won, and to put a polish on his cheap regrets while living in luxurious ease. It might be that his repentance was sincere, and went beyond the meaning of his words, but while he confessed to some of the frailties of youth he spoke perhaps in too self-righteous tones of his freedom from the faults of others (*cum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem*, Cat. 3. 5).

He is said to have married Terentia, the wife whom Cicero had divorced (Hieron. adv. Jov. 1), but was childless probably, as he adopted a grandson of his sister (Tac. Ann. 3. 30. 3). After Caesar's death he retired from the world of politics, and returned to the literary interests of early days. His leisure at any rate was well employed. In it was produced not only the two treatises which are preserved for us entire, but also a much longer history of the period which followed Sulla's death, of which some fragments merely now remain. His own life was cut short in 35, four years before the time of civil strife was closed by the final victory of Actium, and the Augustan age of literature began.

It will be seen that Sallust had at least one qualification for his literary work. He had helped to make history before he tried to write it; he had lived in all the strife of social forces, and was conversant with the intrigues of public life; political ideas and party names were full of life and meaning to him, and not the mere abstractions of the student. Up to his time indeed such history as had been written at Rome was the work chiefly of the statesmen and the soldiers who left behind them personal memoirs or annals of their times; there was no distinct literary class to regulate the canons of historical research, or the forms and methods of procedure. The order of arrangement was determined by the annalistic sequence which grew out of the enlarged almanack put forth in ruder times by the chief pontiff (*pontifex maximus*). A striking change was introduced by Sallust, who was one of the first to take a subject rather than a period of time, and to aim at greater breadth and unity of treatment. He handled therefore his materials with greater freedom, and could work them up with more eye to their logical effect than writers who were hampered by traditional rules. But his love of broad effects and analysis of character was not balanced by any very painstaking research in his preparatory studies. We need not lay great stress indeed upon the help which he received from a trained Greek scholar, Ateius Praetextatus, styled Philologus, who is said to have prepared a manual of Roman history (*breviarium rerum omnium Romanarum*, Suet. Gramm. 10) for his special use. The story may belong to an earlier period of his life, or may point only to such assistance in details as literary men may fairly seek from experts in some departments of their work.

He was certainly himself no inexperienced tiro, trusting to his mother wit and natural grace of style. In some Greek literature he was quite at home without a guide; Thucydides had been studied with such care that incidental phrases recurred to his memory and found an echo in his words, besides the more elaborate descriptions which he often tried to reproduce or rival in his own pictorial efforts. He was familiar with some of the speeches of Demosthenes, and parts of Xenophon, as also with letters which were commonly ascribed to Plato, to speak only of the writings which have stamped themselves most

clearly on his thought and language. But this was natural enough for an educated Roman, whose studies in rhetoric were sure to take him back to the Hellenic models, and give him a quick eye for points and illustrations which might prove useful on occasion. He knew enough of them to recognise their excellence of form and of arrangement, and he was certainly not over-weighted by his learning, though the imitation is at times perhaps somewhat laboured.

To speak at present only of the matter of his work, the facts which were the groundwork of his narrative had to be drawn, of course, from other sources. For the nearer times of the Conspiracy of Catiline there were the memories of living men to be consulted, published speeches such as those of Cicero, the records of the proceedings in the Senate, and other documents lodged in the archives of the state, the memoirs of the public men concerned as agents or as witnesses in affairs of moment, familiar letters which had outlived the writers, and which reflected the shifting fancies and prejudices of Roman gossip. For the earlier times with which he was concerned the materials had been already shaped by other hands, in formal histories like that of L. Cornelius Sisenna, whom he names (Jug. 95. 2), and in chapters of the annalists who had drawn out a connected narrative of past times, among whom may be specified Q. Claudius Quadrigarius and Q. Valerius Antias of the age of Sulla, and C. Licinius Macer, a contemporary of Cicero. More special data might be found in the memoirs written by the men who played a leading part in stirring times, such as M. Aemilius Scaurus and P. Rutilius Rufus, and the greatest of them the dictator Sulla.

We are left indeed almost to conjecture as to the authorities whom Sallust chiefly followed. It was not usual with ancient writers to confess their literary obligations, or to discuss the sources of their information. It is not surprising therefore that he hardly names his predecessors, and makes no comparative statement of their value. The books that were ready to his hand are lost to us, and little but their names survives. Of the Jugurthine War no narrative is found at any length save in our author, though Orosius (5. 15) speaks of the *opima scriptorum luculentia* in connexion with it.

There is little chance therefore of distinguishing his work from that of others whom he may have followed. There are more data to enable us to criticise the use of his materials in the other treatise, and from them, as also from internal evidence, we see that in accuracy and laborious research he fell far short of the highest standard. It may be convenient to notice briefly some of his shortcomings.

(1) In his avoidance of the annalistic order he went to quite an opposite extreme. Chronological details are quite ignored, even when they are most needed to explain the movement of events. The omission of these is a capital defect in his account of the various stages of the Conspiracy of Catiline; in the Jugurthine War the only indication of the dates is given in the names of the Consular commanders, but there are errors certainly implied in his vague and general statements, for too much work is crowded into the compass of a short campaign, and a whole year at least is left unaccounted for in his description. It is not needful to illustrate this feature further, as it is discussed more at length in the notes upon the text.

(2) Geographical precision is not a strong point of his works. Ancient historians in general took little heed of physical conditions, seldom thought of travelling themselves over the seat of war to understand the military movements and describe more vividly the battlefields. It would be natural to suppose indeed that Sallust had a special interest in the matter, for many of the fragments of his Histories seem to belong to geographical digressions, and his long description of the neighbourhood of the Euxine Sea is referred to with marked praise (*inclytam descriptionem*, Festus Avienus 37); but at any rate he does not seem to have made great use of his position of Governor of Numidia to get his knowledge at first hand of the scenes which he describes. He sketches indeed in a few telling phrases the main aspects of the country, but he gives us scarcely any names by which to follow the armies on their march, he transports them to and fro with very scanty recognition of the vast distances involved, and contents himself with vague and general statements where we could wish for definite details. It is natural to suppose that he must have been at Cirta, and the inscription carved in two places on the rock (*limes fundi*

Sallustiani) at Constantine, has been supposed to indicate the boundaries of the property of the proconsul, 'where he was wont to come in his leisure hours to combine the charms of philosophy with the more material pleasures of this life' (Playfair, Handbook to Algiers, 196).

But if so we might expect to hear more of the wonderful strength of the rock fortress, instead of the commonplaces of the operations of a siege almost impossible in such a scene. The town itself at that time was in the hands probably of Sittius, the bold condottiere who had done good service in the war, and received in reward from Caesar, as a sort of petty principality, the stronghold which he had taken.

(3) Another weak point is his unwarrantable confidence in his own powers of reading the thoughts and feelings of the chief actors on the scene. He imputes motives without the least reserve, states his inferences as matters of fact, turns slanderous gossip into substantial crimes, and describes the shifting currents of emotion in the heart of a Catiline or a Bocchus where from the nature of the case little or nothing could certainly be known.

(4) In putting laboured speeches of his own into the mouths of others he simply followed the common practice of the Greek historians, and especially of Thucydides his favourite model. They were regarded as rhetorical performances into which they put the strongest arguments that could be urged, or the most emotional appeals in favour of the line of policy which was to be suggested, and like advocates they tried to make the best case for the speaker whatever he might actually have said. It was very rare to find a writer like Pompeius Trogus (Justin, 38. 3. 11) objecting to the employment of such speeches on the ground that they were not authentic. Those of Sallust are vigorous and impressive, though the one attributed to Catiline (C. 20) is not quite in keeping with the requirements of the audience supposed, and that of Marius is too rhetorical for an unlettered soldier.

(5) His prefaces have been also criticised, as by Quintilian, for their want of logical connexion with his subject (*nihil ad historiam pertinentibus principiis orsus est*, 3. 8. 9). They are probably due to imitations of Greek writers, though they agree

with his ideal of history, in which the reflections are more important than the facts. In the shorter work the introduction is certainly of disproportionate length, and we may be weary of pretentious phrases which dress up such platitudes as that the mind is of more value than the body, and the greatness of Rome was due to the hardihood and valour of her sons.

(6) His moral horizon too was somewhat narrow, though he does complain so bitterly of venal statesmen and vicious and self-indulgent nobles, and talks in Pharisaic style of the craft and cruelty of the barbarian Jugurtha. Yet he has no word of blame for the meanness of the Roman when Metellus tried to bribe the Numidian servants to betray their master, or when Sulla ensnared the foe he could not conquer. He passes coldly over the hard fate of the inhabitants of Capsa, put in cold blood to the sword for a quarrel which was in no way of their making. He looks back without misgiving on the masterful policy of Roman conquest, and even when he dwells on the misrule of the oligarchy, scarcely notices its neglect of duty to the subject world, which the empire was soon to correct and to avenge. 'His quarrel with the nobility is not that they oppressed the commons, or that they were burdensome to the world, but that they made it impossible for young men to rise by good behaviour' (Simcox, Lat. Lit. i. 223).

(7) Is Sallust to be regarded as a pamphleteer, or can we find an object for his writings in the wish to discredit the old *régime* and to vindicate the memory of Caesar? (Mommsen, R. Hist. Tr. 4. 2. 184, *note*). There is little evidence in favour of this view. Rather it would seem that the eager partisan of early days, when he retired from the busy world to live among his books and spacious gardens, breathed a cooler air than the atmosphere of party passions.

He had seen too much of all sides to have much admiration left for any: there were few public men of note who had not stooped to low intrigues in the interest of faction; he thought with some shame of his own antecedents, and his experience of Roman circles may account for the tone of pessimism which may be often noted in his writings, and which is so different from the earnest conviction of a real reformer. There are two characters alone of whom he speaks with any great respect,

and they were the most markedly opposed in the whole spirit of their policy and temper; for past and future seemed to stand out in contrast when Caesar and Cato looked each other in the face.

He had been a Caesarian himself, had served the winning cause and met with his reward, but he deals frankly with the errors of his side, and gives us no ideal programme of reform. He has no enthusiasm for the memory of the Gracchi, no passionate sympathy for any of the sufferers from senatorian misrule. He can speak with impartial tones of questions of debate, for he has no strong faith in any creed to disturb his judgment of the rest.

Although our estimate of the merits of Sallust as an historian may not be high according to our modern standards, there can be no doubt that his popularity as a writer was very great in ancient times.

We can trace his influence even in a style so markedly original as that of Tacitus, and in the days of Martial he could be spoken of as foremost in Roman history (*primus Romana Crispus in historia*, Ep. 14. 191).

Echoes of his phrases recur in a long line of later authors, and his works were the favourite source of illustrations for the technical grammarians and critics. His vigorous and weighty language formed a marked relief to the smooth and level periods of other writers; his sketches of character were vivid and impressive, the more so perhaps that he had so little scruple about the arrangement of his lights and shades; he had graphic powers of description, as in the account of the escalade of the fort on the Mulucha; his sharply cut phrases became elegant extracts and easily stamped themselves upon the memory. His brevity was also in his favour, though it was purchased at the cost of the suppression of much that was important for the full understanding of the progress of events. But he was never overburdened with his facts, he dealt lightly with the task of building up the solid groundwork of accurate information, and spent his strength on points of style, and critical reflections and maxims, the philosophy of which is not always profound.

The manner was better than the matter, but those who loved

details might turn to the older annalists or to the voluminous works of Livy. He dealt too with the near past, and with periods of stirring interest where his pages never needed to be dull.

If we turn to inquire more narrowly into the nature of the language which he uses, we shall find two objections to it stated by the ancient critics which may seem perhaps somewhat inconsistent. We hear on the one hand of the archaisms which he affected (*nimia priscorum verborum affectatio*, Sueton. Gramm. 10), on the other, we are told of the innovations of his style (*novandi studium*, A. Gell. 4. 15. 1).

But the two seem only different aspects of one fact. The literary language of his day was growing too smooth and regular to suit his taste, and he went back to older models where he found the strong words and telling phrases which might give at times a certain picturesqueness to his pages. The extent indeed to which this tendency was carried has been long matter of dispute, and from the lack of needful evidence the question cannot be decided. There can be little doubt however that he drew much from the elder Cato, who was the first to give a definite form to Latin prose for the purposes of history. Owing to such obligations he was called a 'blundering plagiarist' by Lenaeus (*ineruditissimum furem*, Sueton. Gramm. 15), and an old epigram quoted by Quintilian is aimed at the 'Crispus who stole so much from ancient Cato' (8. 3. 29). Augustus also blamed him for like reason (Suet. Oct. 86). It was natural for one who had seen so much of the darker side of life, and thought so badly of his times, to turn to the pages of a sterner moralist for the pictures of a simpler age, and to transfer something of their rude energy and colour to the speeches written for the men of antique stamp such as the Memmius and Marius of the Jugurthine War. Elsewhere even the close resemblance of a thought or phrase may show the influence of the earlier author.

But beyond this we can hardly go with any confidence. So little now remains of the earlier prose writers, and that little is in so fragmentary a state that it seems rash to draw definite conclusions as to special points of contrast between any of their styles and that of Sallust.

An old-fashioned word or two, such as *prosapia*, or unusual forms like *nequitur*, *strenuissimus*, *volvere cum animo*, are chiefly to be found in Cato's fragments: others, like *patres familiarum*, or adverbial forms ending in *-im*, were especially affected by Sisenna, and it is natural to think that we can trace in each case the special influence of the earlier author. Many other so-called archaisms have been noticed in his pages, such as the masculine nouns *forus*, *volgus*, *vadus*, endings like those of *colos* and *labos*, the ablative *diu*, the genitive *senati*, *neglegisset* (Jug. 40. 1), *dextumus* (Jug. 100. 2), *necessitudo* for *necessitas*, the passive participle *conventus* (Jug. 112. 2), *dolens* in an active sense (Jug. 84. 1), *patrare* and *ductare*, *supplicia* (Cat. 9. 2), *venena* in a neutral sense.

Many of these were passing out of use, though not already obsolete, when Sallust transferred them to his pages to give perhaps more relief and colour to his style, or in part from unconscious imitation of the writers or the times which he preferred.

Some of his forms again may have belonged more to the people's language than to the conventional Latinity of Rome. Such was certainly the ending of the perfect tense in *-ere* rather than *-erunt*, and the same remark may be applied possibly to a few of the supposed archaisms which he employs. But to say with Wölfflin that his diction was the people's democratic style (Philol. 1874, p. 137) is to outrun the evidence completely, and to confuse the rich man of the world who enjoyed his literary ease and splendid gardens with some half-educated politician of the streets. Generally it may be said that older forms of language appear more often in the fragments of his Histories than in the two earlier treatises which are left entire, and seem to have been allowed less freely in the narrative itself than in the speeches where the colour of antiquity was more in keeping with the characters or the sentiments which they expressed. It seems, however, that a century later this very feature became specially attractive to the Roman purists, and, among others, the Emperor Hadrian preferred even the earlier writer Caelius Antipater to Sallust as savouring much more of the antique (Spartian. Hadr. 16. 6).

The prose of Sallust was so notable an improvement upon the

rugged Latin of the earlier historians, that if he was indebted to them it was for the accessories rather than the essentials of his style. A far more important influence was that of the writings of Thucydides, whom he evidently accepted as his literary model. A later writer called him *aemulus Thucydidis* (Vell. Pat. 2. 36. 2), and the ancient critics frequently speak of the two in close connexion. There were indeed some common features in their relations to their respective times. Each began to write when his political career was closed: each assumed an impartial tone that rose above the disturbing influence of party passions; in each there was a want of sympathy with the prevailing spirit of the age. There is in both the same tendency to restrict attention to purely human causes, to the complete exclusion of the divine, the same analysis of the motives of the agents and description of their thoughts and feelings, the same desire of dignity of style, which is not however accompanied in the case of Sallust by contempt for the scandalous gossip of the streets.

There is perhaps the same overestimate of the importance of the wars which were chosen in each case for description. It was a bold thing however of Quintilian to put them on the same level of merit (*nec Thucydidi opponere Sallustium verear*, 10. 1), while admitting the numerous obligations of the later writer (*ex Graeco translata vel Sallustii plurima*, 9. 3).

Sometimes we may trace this imitation in the arrangement and matter of the work, as when a line of thought is suggested by the topics of a speech (Thuc. 3. 41–48, cf. Sall. C. 51), or details are copied from a picturesque description (Thuc. 3. 22, cf. S. J. 94), or a sketch of earlier history introduced by way of preface (Thuc. 1, cf. S. C. 6).

More frequently it may be observed in the characteristic features of the style. Both are famous for their brevity. But in the Greek it is a power of vigorous and comprehensive statement, which accompanies a full knowledge of the facts, a close observation of details, and a subtle power of analysing the various aspects of a thought and developing its issues, which runs sometimes into excessive delicacy of fine drawn speculation.

The language of Sallust may be strong and terse, but there is

no great depth of thought behind it, nor power of original insight. The gain of space is often due to the neglect rather than the compression of materials, and the conciseness appears at times somewhat laboured, as of one who was not quite master of his art. Aulus Gellius speaks of his consummate skill in this respect (*subtilissimus brevitatis artifex*, 3. 1. 6), but he refers probably to something more than to such artifices of style as those of the historic infinitive to give vivacity and movement to descriptive passages, or the omission of the copula which is so frequent with him (*asyndeton*), or the suppression of words easily supplied in thought such as the parts of the verb *esse* (*ellipse*), or the use of a single word to do double work in somewhat different senses (*zeugma*). These frequently recur indeed, but they are only superficial indications of the *immortalis illa velocitas* of Quintilian (10. 1), which points to the directness and compression of the language, in which every excrescence has been pruned away, and the whole is pervaded by epigrammatic point and polish.

A favourite arrangement of Thucydides consists in the balance of short contrasted phrases—παρίσωσις as it has been technically called. This was also largely used by Sallust, as in the phrases *laudis avidi*, *pecuniae liberales; gloriam ingentem*, *divitias honestas volebant* (C. 7. 6) ; *aliud clausum in pectore*, *aliud in lingua promptum* (10. 5). The effect was also heightened by the inversion technically called *chiasmus*, as in the last example, and in *proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio* (J. 7. 5).

We find also the same expedients as in the Greek writer to secure vivacity of style by sudden variations of construction. Sometimes this consists in change from the active to the neuter verb, as in *movere quam senescere omnia malebat* (J. 35. 3), or from past to present tense *siquid ab senatu petere vellent*, *ab armis discedant* (C. 34. 1) : sometimes in change of case, as *plerique patriae*, *sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus* (C. 33. 1), or in substitution of adverb for noun, as *majores nostri . . . recte atque ordine fecere* (C. 51. 4), or preposition for the oblique case alone, as *neque per vim neque insidiis* (J. 7. 1): sometimes in still bolder variations, as *quod in invidia res erat*, *simul et ab Numidis obsecrati* (J. 25. 5), or in the *constructio ad sensum* as *conjuravere pauci . . . de qua . . . dicam* (C. 18. 1).

To these we may add the substantival use of the neuter of an adjective, which was perhaps encouraged by the example of Thucydides, and which became common enough in later Latin, though rarely carried to such a length as in the *humi arido atque harenoso* of (J. 48. 3).

We may notice in this connexion the imitation of Greek idioms which we find in Sallust, as *neque plebi militia volenti putabatur* (J. 84. 3); *quae* (ὅσα) *homines arant navigant aedificant* (C. 2. 7); *multus instare* (J. 84. 1), cf. πολὺς ἐνέκειτο (Thuc.); *nuda gignentium* (J. 79. 6). These, however, are not so numerous as might be supposed from the statements of ancient critics.

A further colour was also given to his style by the use of figures more usual in poetry than in prose. Among these may be noticed that of *litotes*, as *bene dicere haud absurdum est* (C. 3. 1); *illi haud timidi resistunt* (C. 60. 3): and metaphors in regard to which Asinius Pollio remarked his *audacia in translationibus* (Suet. Gramm. 10), cf. *cujus inpudentia contra jus et injurias omnis munitus foret* (J. 33. 2); *Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget* (C. 52. 35). In this connexion may be also noticed words used by the poets which were not before naturalized in prose like *vecordia, semianimus, inclutus, excidium, aevum, tempestas* (in the sense of time).

On the whole, a careful reader will probably agree with the judgment of Quintilian (Inst. 2. 5) that the treatises of Sallust are not so well suited for beginners as for riper students. In some sense indeed they may be easy, for the sentences are short, the constructions are direct, and the vocabulary is not extensive. But there is much in the subjects chosen and the mode of treatment to appeal more to the mature reason than the youthful fancy. The abstract language of the prefaces, the large place given to details of party politics, the tone of pessimism in the general remarks are not of universal interest like many of the portraits and dramatic scenes of Livy. The style itself is highly artificial: its brevity sometimes apparent more than real: its sententious phrases and deliberate abruptness, relieved by epigrammatic points and studied variety of forms, require some experience to estimate aright, and limit the author's value as a literary model.

The Conspiracy of Catiline[1].

In dealing with the Catilinarian conspiracy of 63 B.C., it is necessary to begin with the details of an earlier plot in 66, of which Sallust inserts a brief account parenthetically in his eighteenth chapter.

In the course of that year Catiline had returned from provincial government as propraetor in Africa, to be followed shortly by a charge of peculation or extortion (*repetundae*), which justified the presiding magistrate in regarding him as disqualified as candidate at the elections for the consuls of the ensuing year (*prohibitus erat consulatum petere*, 18. 3).

P. Autronius Paetus and P. Cornelius Sulla were elected, but were prosecuted immediately for bribery under the Calpurnian law *de ambitu*, and when found guilty were stripped of their office, degraded from the senate, and made incapable of holding any post of rank.

The rival candidates, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, who had been busy in the trial, were elected in their stead; but before they entered upon office a plot was formed to murder them, and by a *coup d'état* to put the leading conspirators in their places.

But the names of these are differently stated. Livy (Ep. 101), Dion Cassius (36. 44), and Suetonius (J. Caesar 8), the last of whom cites four authorities for his version of the story, state or imply that Autronius and Sulla, as the prime movers in the plot, were to be the future consuls. Sallust names Catiline in the place of Sulla, and Cicero, when pleading, years afterwards, in defence of Sulla, naturally tries to make the best of some awkward statements of his own upon the subject, and to throw the guilt on the then notorious Catiline. The balance of the evidence is much in favour of the former version. Sulla had been closely associated so far with Autronius; he was wealthy and ambitious, and his political career seemed closed without some bold stroke of the kind: there was less reason to stir,

---

[1] For the criticism of the Literature on this subject, cf. Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Catilinarischen Verschwörung von Dr. C. John, Leipzig, 1876.

however, in order to aggrandize another, who had returned but lately from abroad, and might well take a lower place.

For the rest there is no dispute as to the complicity of Cn. Piso, or the suspicions which rested upon M. Crassus. Suetonius adds that J. Caesar was also privy to the plot. The secret got abroad, it seems, and the attempt therefore was postponed, and a guard even was given to protect the consuls. It seems strange that treason so widely known should be hushed up, and a commission in Spain given to Piso, while Catiline was defended by Torquatus when his trial presently came off. It is probable that powerful intriguers were behind the scenes, who hoped to profit by a social crisis, and regarded Piso, and perhaps Catiline, as serviceable tools to be used against Pompeius, who might be dangerously great when he returned with his victorious army from the East. Piso was sent to Spain to neutralize the influence of Pompeius, which had been gained there in the war against Sertorius. Catiline, it would seem, was quite a secondary figure in the movement, which had none of the features of a socialistic propaganda. There was certainly some interval between the failure of the first and the growth of the second revolutionary scheme. The trial which was hanging over Catiline in 66 was allowed to proceed in 65, but his acquittal followed in the autumn, not without grave suspicions of collusion on the part of the accuser Clodius and the jury.

The consul L. Torquatus and other nobles appeared in court in his behalf, as if to discredit the rumours that were lately current.

It was then too late for him to stand for the consulship that year, but he began to pose as a candidate in 64, and in concert with C. Antonius Hybrida to strain every nerve in order to secure their election for the following year. The speech of their rival Cicero *in toga candida* is full of the details of their electioneering practices, and Asconius his commentator explains the references in the speech to the intrigues of Caesar and of Crassus, who were using all their influence against him (*potentissimi Ciceronis refragatores*). If so, their efforts were in vain, for Cicero and Antonius were elected.

The defeat of Catiline was followed by another prosecution.

He was accused of taking part in the murderous proscriptions under Sulla, and Caesar was himself the president of the court which was busy with like cases (*judex quaestionis de sicariis*, Suet. Caes. 11). This may have been a party measure to embarrass Caesar, and to cast a slur upon him in the case of an acquittal, for Catiline was currently reported to have murdered in cold blood M. Marius Gratidianus an eminent victim of that reign of terror.

Catiline was again acquitted, but the popular leaders may have felt that they could do no more for him, for there is no evidence of any further action on their part in his behalf. He was not the man however to despair. If the statesmen of the democratic party would not help him, there was a lower deep to which he might appeal.

There was misery and discontent enough abroad, and Italy was full of fuel for revolutionary fires. Not many years before great armies had spread fire and pillage through wide regions, and countless families whose homesteads were destroyed had been turned loose upon the world; the victims of Sulla's confiscations could leave only ruin and a thirst for vengeance to their children; the veterans who were quartered on their lands were many of them weary of their homely labours, and ready to take part again in stirring scenes; there were numbers of the yeomen, ruined by the economic changes of the past, driven to become soldiers of fortune, or else brigands, or merged in the noisy rabble of the streets. There were the bold corsairs, swept by Pompeius from the seas, who did not find it quite so easy to earn a livelihood in honest ways. In Rome itself too there were many classes who had no reason to love the present order and everything to gain by social change. Nobles of old family, bankrupt in means and reputation; adventurers of the Civil Wars who had spent their gains and wanted more; intriguers whose political career was closed by the verdict of the courts; fanatics of democracy, who loathed the extravagant pretensions of the few; thousands of the landless poor who were jostled by the slave from the door of every honest calling—these were the results of misgovernment and revolution in the past—these were the natural recruits for any bold reformer who was not delicate about his social programme. Catiline began to bid for their

support; if they would flock to Rome to overawe the timid at the polling, or help to make him consul by their votes, then he would freely use in their behalf the powers of the state which were given to his hand. The land-bills and the corn-laws of the Gracchi, the law of debt passed by L. Valerius Flaccus, these had already shown the way, and much more might be done to raise the level of the neediest classes. This is the picture painted for us by the speech of Cicero *pro Murena*, which was delivered shortly after the elections. It implies an ultra-democratic programme, but not an anarchic or socialist upheaval, however ominous it might seem from the hopes or wild talk of its partisans.

Catiline was still on constitutional ground, save so far as the doings of his canvassers or the bravos in his train pointed to the use of bribes or force to win his seat.

Cicero was alarmed indeed by what he saw, or by the private information he received, and prevailed upon the senate to postpone the elections for awhile, and hold a debate upon the subject, but there was no evidence of treason to convince them, or to warrant any exceptional proceedings. The elections therefore followed in due course; if there was any design upon the life of Cicero, as he often urged in later speeches, there was no overt action: but Catiline was again defeated, and the vote fell on D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena.

The baffled man had now no resource left but force to gain his ends, and what was a party struggle became a revolutionary plot.

It is impossible to accept or reconcile so far the accounts given us by Sallust. As early as June 64 Catiline himself is represented as concerting measures for an armed uprising, and promising plunder and a new start in life (*tabulae novae*) to all his followers, when he is standing for the consulship for the first time, and seems to have no reason for staking all upon the chance of war. There could be no hope that a secret shared by so many would be long kept, there was little reason for letting it drag on for years.

His speech, which breathes fire and sword, is only fitted for the ears of the neediest adventurers, and not for men of rank and wealth like some of those whom Sallust names among his audience.

The historian tells us nothing of the prosecution before Caesar, nor of the warning urged by Cicero upon the senate, nor of the postponement of the elections, but simply paints a strong picture of the wild designs of Catiline, which appear full-blown from the first, and then a fancy scene of the meeting of conspirators listening to impassioned words.

For the details of the whole movement Sallust, as is usual with him, gives us scarcely any dates; but it is important to get a clear view of the sequence of events, though some points are still matters of dispute. It seems most probable that the elections actually took place in the summer, after a short postponement only. Some time was needed certainly after the defeat to send emissaries to the country districts, and prepare for the rising in Etruria, especially if we believe that it was only then—when other measures failed—that the plotters drifted into treason and decided to appeal to force.

The first certain date from which to start is that of Oct. 21st (Cic. Cat. 1. 3. 7). Crassus and other nobles, we are told by Plutarch, had come to Cicero in the night, and shown him letters received from unknown writers to warn them to quit Rome which would soon be a scene of bloodshed (Plut. Crass. 13; Cic. 15). The consul convened the senate on the morrow, and caused the letters to be read aloud, then laid before them all that he had heard from his informers of the designs of the conspirators at Rome, and of the rising in Etruria, for which the day was fixed already (Plut. Cic. 15). The senate was convinced at last that a crisis was at hand, and armed the consul with such powers as the *senatus consultum ultimum* could confer (Sall. Cat. 29. 3). A few days afterwards the news arrived that Manlius had risen at Faesulae on the 27th,—if Sallust can be trusted for the only date he gives us—or on the 25th, as we may possibly infer from the doubtful text of Cicero (Cic. Cat. 1. 3. 7). There was no time to be lost, and steps were taken to raise troops, and dispatch generals to the various points of danger. At this debate, or shortly afterwards, Catiline was impeached for breach of peace (*de vi*) by L. Aemilius Paulus, and offered himself for custody to M. Metellus, on the refusal of the consul to accept him (Sall. Cat. 31. 4). The government was now forewarned and spies

were watchful. An attempt to seize Praeneste failed on Nov. 1st (Cat. I. 3. 8), and Manlius was not near enough to join hands with insurgents in the city. So the plot still dragged.

But on the eve of the 7th of November (*nocte ea quae consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Nov.*, Cic. p. Sull. 18. 52) a meeting of the conspirators took place in the house of Laeca, when it was decided to murder the consul early on the morrow in his house, and then to give the signal for a general outbreak in the disaffected districts, while their enemies were massacred at Rome. The assassins failed to gain an entrance, for the spies had warned the consul of his danger.

The day passed on—for it seems safer to assume this short delay, than to believe that the plotters had put off their attempt a day, or that Cicero was mistaken in the date. On the 8th certainly the senate was convened (Asconius on Cat. I. 2. 4), and heard from Cicero the full details of what had passed, in the first of his extant speeches on the subject. Catiline was forced by the exposure to quit the senate house and Rome. On the morrow the consul laid the facts before the people, and his *contio* is left as the second Catilinarian oration. Meantime the accomplices in Rome were busy in intrigues with the envoys of the Allobroges in Gaul, on whose wrongs and discontent they reckoned for sympathy and help in revolution. But their secret was again betrayed, and on Dec. 3rd the leaders were arrested, with evidence enough to prove their guilt when they were confronted with the envoys in the senate. Notes of the evidence were taken in shorthand by the consul's orders, and copies distributed broadcast, but in addition Cicero addressed a public meeting in the evening, and delivered the third of his orations. On Dec. 5th the great debate took place in the senate as to the fate of the criminals whose guilt was clear; and after long discussion, of which we have full details, the majority was for the penalty of death, which followed in due course.

If we now turn to the narrative of Sallust we shall find that:—

1°. He gives no dates but one (Oct. 27th), and that does not certainly agree with Cicero's account, though the doubtful figures of the MSS. have possibly been altered, in some cases for the purpose.

2°. The meeting in Laeca's house is put too early, before it was clear that Cicero knew their secrets and was a danger in their path, before Manlius could be ready to give help, or there had been time to prove that the last card must be played (*ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit* (27. 3).

3°. The proceedings in the Senate on Nov. 8th are, therefore, ill explained. Nothing is said of the attempt which had just failed, of the disclosures made by Crassus, or of the full knowledge of the plot shown by the consul, or of the real cause which drove Catiline away, when he knew that treachery tied his hands at Rome.

4°. The inverted sequence of events and the omission of details account for the want of any development or natural progress in the plot. He does not see in Catiline an ambitious man who poses first as a radical reformer, and is driven by repeated failures to attempt a revolution, and finally a massacre of all who crossed his path, but makes him from the first a villain of the deepest dye, who aims at anarchy and rapine even while he is aspiring to be consul, and is unprepared at last after years of preparation.

5°. He seems to aim at painting a series of vivid sketches rather than explaining logical connexions. Thus he gives a chapter (25) to Sempronia, who, as has been remarked, sits for her portrait and then disappears; he brings together to one meeting all the leaders of the movement known to him (18), and in the speech unfolds the programme of the revolution, however little needed for their ears (20); at another time in Laeca's house he describes a sort of order of the day, without explaining why the measures should have been so long deferred (27); and in the camp of Manlius he brings before our mind together all the classes who were ready to rise against the social system (28. 4).

6°. Sallust seems to have relied too much upon his personal memories or the rumours of the time, and to have neglected materials that lay ready to his hand. He speaks indeed of the first of Cicero's orations on the subject (31. 6), but not of any of the others, and ignores the part he took in the great debate upon the 5th, when the fourth of those speeches was delivered. He fails to tell us how Catiline stole away to be present at

the meeting of the 6th, though Cicero's irony at his custodian Metellus (Cat. 1. 8. 19) might have explained the fact.

There are minor discrepancies that may be thus accounted for, like that of the taunt at Cicero as an *inquilinus civis* (31. 7), which seems to have been really used at the elections (Appian, Bell. Civ. 2. 2, Cic. Orat. 37, 129), and the threat *incendium meum ruina restinguam* (31. 9), which was uttered months before (Cic. p. Muren. 25. 51). So in 18. 3 we have *post paulo* where *ante paulo* seems required by the sequence of events, and the statement *fuere ea tempestate qui crederent* (17. 7) refers to a belief more likely to be current at a later time when men looked back upon the story of the past.

We may now proceed to deal with the debate upon the 5th. Here it should be remembered that the senate was in no sense a high Court of Justice, and had no right to try the prisoners with judicial forms. It could not dictate the course which should be followed, nor relieve the executive of its responsibility of action. But it was natural that it should be consulted at a crisis when there was already an army of rebels in the field, and in Rome itself insurgents might at any moment rise to free their chiefs and fire the city. It was no cowardice on the part of Cicero, for the senate could not screen him even if it wished, but he followed precedent in asking for advice from the great Council of the State.

The consul elect opened the debate and recommended to enforce the extreme vigour of the law (*supplicium sumundum*, 50. 4). The counsel found approval till Caesar rose to plead for a more lenient sentence. The long speech put into his mouth has been thought to be authentic in the main, and the tenor of its argument has been much praised. It seems, however, to reflect the embarrassment of the position of the speaker, who had been suspected of earlier intrigues with the accused, and whose plea for mercy might not be regarded as quite honest. It does not take the bolder line which best became a democratic leader, of objecting to the whole debate as *ultra vires*, on the ground that the question was not for them but for a court of Justice. He does urge indeed that reforms in legislation had substituted exile for the penalty of death. But the course which he proposes of imprisonment for life with confiscation was

one quite unknown to Roman law, and which neither senate nor consul could properly enforce except by an irregular procedure; it was one which plainly left most chance of rescue by armed force, and might soon be disallowed by a sympathizing consul. Caesar was too clear-sighted to ignore this risk, and we cannot therefore but discount his previous argument that death was no real punishment, and had been proved to have no adequate deterring force. His pleas for clemency and dispassionate action are certainly consistent with his own practice in the Civil Wars, which was so marked a contrast to the vindictive spirit of his age; but his attitude was then that of a successful rebel, and settled governments have rarely found it easy to deal tenderly with the leaders of a revolution. His words, however, had much weight, and Cicero thought it needful to take part in the debate (4th Cat. Or.), to show that he felt himself responsible for what was done if the vote should be for a short shrift and no mercy, though he did not directly argue in its favour.

An adjournment was proposed and seemed likely to be carried, till Cato rose and with his uncompromising words decided the waverers to vote for death. In a few hours the execution followed.

Was the sentence an illegal one, as Clodius and others urged soon after?

It certainly was not covered by the senate's vote upon the subject, for the senate at this time had no judicial functions. Nor is it clear that by declaring martial law through the *senatus consultum ultimum* they could confer powers on the executive, which they did not possess themselves. The claim indeed may have been put forward when the old usage dropped of naming a dictator for a crisis, but the popular leaders never had allowed it in the terms employed by Sallust (29. 3) and there is no proof of any constitutional right.

It is not clear then that the consul could proceed under the forms of martial law, but it might be urged that in old times the magistrates could deal at once and without delays of justice with manifest offenders or criminals who confessed their guilt (*de confessis sicut de manufestis*, Sall. Cat. 52. 5). In other cases their authority was narrowed by the appeal to the tribunes or the people, as afterwards by all the courts that were set

up for public trials, but powers of summary jurisdiction still remained. They were commonly exercised indeed by praetors, or magistrates of lower rank, but no statute had stripped the consuls of the right, which rested only in abeyance.

The laws to which reference was made by Caesar had not repealed the penalty of death in general terms. The Porcian only swept away the horrible accompaniments of the capital punishment of old times (*more majorum*); the Valerian secured appeal when tribunes were at hand to interpose; the Sempronian forbad exceptional proceedings in commissions set up in the place of authorized courts. The Jury Courts, whose competence had been so much enlarged, had indeed no power to take life, and as they grew and gained importance death as a sentence became more rare.

It cannot be proved therefore that the action of Cicero was illegal, but it was certainly against the spirit, if not the letter of the existing law, and as such perhaps it may be called unconstitutional. He put in force a magisterial power which had become obsolete from long disuse, or else claimed to proceed by martial law by virtue of a mandate, which the senate had issued already in like cases, but which might fairly be regarded as a usurpation.

But he believed that the danger was a real one, and could be met only by prompt measures. He knew that the forces of repression in the city were too weak to cope with a determined outbreak, and that the leaders if sent for custody to country towns might soon be rescued.

It seemed needful to deter the waverers by stern example, and he did no more than established governments would always do to defend themselves in the supreme hour of their fate.

There is an objection—and it is a sweeping one—which would refuse to allow of any such excuses[1]. It regards the execution in the dungeon as a mere judicial murder committed by a renegade who—the consulship once won—sold his fluent tongue and fertile fancy to the oligarchy of the day, turned on his own party with all the bitterness of a deserter, and singled

---

[1] Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius, by Prof. E. S. Beesly, London, 1878.

out its natural leader for the object of his special hate, dogged his path, thwarted his schemes, spread lies broadcast to fly-blow his reputation, and at last goaded him with false charges and invectives to quit Rome, and throw in his lot with the few desperate men whom misery and misgovernment had driven to insurrection.

In this theory Catiline becomes the successor of the Gracchi, one of the many who saw no hope of general well-being save in lowering the pretensions of the privileged few,—no statesman indeed but a frank soldier, who was no match for Cicero in the fence of words, but was soon entangled in the coils of his glib lies and hired informers.

If we ask for the evidence on which we are asked to rewrite the whole history of the movement, we shall find that it is very slender, and must be eked out largely by assumptions. It is true, of course, that Cicero is not always consistent in his language, but then we must remember that an advocate must think only of his brief, and make the best he can out of his client's case. The Caelius and the Sulla whom he afterwards defended had been more or less mixed up with Catiline and his circle; the sweeping charges therefore of some earlier speeches had to be toned down, distinctions drawn, and reserves made in the pressing interests of his clients. It is true that Cicero exaggerates at times, and sounds the trumpet freely in his own behalf, while Sallust is not very careful about the laws of evidence, and imputes motives and aims which it is impossible to prove. It is true that the abuses of the times were great, and the misrule of the nobles was scandalous enough to make reformers radical, and drive even good men to desperate courses. But we may allow all this, and yet be very far from proving that there was no such plot at all, and that Catiline was an undeserving victim.

We should remember that:—

1. Literature has no good word to say for him, while it has much about the praises of the Gracchi. All sides were represented by it, and the oligarchs had no power to silence hostile voices.

2. Sallust was then old enough—at the age of twenty-three—to know something of the facts himself. He does not seem to

have loved Cicero so much as to accept his story without doubt, for he speaks coldly of his merits, and was thought to be afterwards his bitter critic.

3. The party of reform was that which finally prevailed, or the empire which revenged it on its rivals ; why should it desert Catiline so entirely if he really was its martyr? why leave him no epitaph but one of shame?

4. Cicero had made his mark, and gained the prize of his ambition. He would seem to have no motive for truckling to the nobles or turning so fiercely on a mere reformer. The senate would have required some real evidence to prove his story, and to the last he seemed to have no doubt himself that he saved Rome from anarchy and pillage.

5. There is in fine nothing to show directly in favour of the view that Catiline was so much better than he has been painted. He died indeed like a brave man, but the soldiers of the Commune and the Nihilists could do the like, and the whole theory reads like a paradox which prejudice and party spirit only can explain.

THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA.

SALLUST gives two reasons for his choice of the Jugurthine War as a subject for literary treatment, but we can hardly lay great stress on the exactness of his language. It was not a great or memorable war (*magnum et atrox variaque fortuna*, 5. 1), for Rome never put out her strength or sent great armies to the field ; there were no battles of first-rate importance, such as those in which the Cimbric or Teutonic hosts were crushed at Aquae Sextiae or Vercellae : there was little in the plans of the campaigns or strategy involved to call for an enduring record : there was nothing to fire the fancy like the triumphal march of Sulla through the East or Caesar's career of victory in Gaul. Nor could it be said with truth that it was the first occasion on which a stand was made against the haughty self-assertion of the nobles (*tunc primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est*), for the Gracchi for a time at least had humbled them completely, though a period of reaction followed which was first broken by the movement of which Sallust tells us.

Our author's interest in the subject was probably excited first

by his own employment on the coast during the African campaign of Caesar, and by the knowledge of Numidia which he gained in the next year as proconsul. He must have had in this way some acquaintance with the people and their country, and it was natural to make inquiries about the traditions of the natives, such as those which were collected in the Punic books of king Hiempsal (17. 7), as also about the passages of earlier history, when Numidia was brought within the range of Roman action.

The relations with Jugurtha caught the fancy of a writer who was more of a politician than a soldier, for though the war was itself neither brilliant nor momentous, it led to a trial of strength at Rome between the two great rival factions : it was pushed on to the bitter end, not so much perhaps to crush Jugurtha as to gain a party triumph, and the course of events in Africa brought the two great men upon the scene together, Marius and Sulla, who were soon to turn their arms against each other, and to stamp their influence in characters of blood upon the story of their times.

The kingdom of Numidia had grown and prospered under the fostering influence of Rome. Thanks to her help and favour the loose tribal leagues of the Massyli and the Massaesyli, headed by their rival chiefs, together with the clans who were subject to their Punic neighbours, had been gradually welded into union by the genius and unresting energy of Masinissa, and at the fall of Carthage the Numidian frontier was allowed to stretch from the Mulucha almost to the Syrtes, while the Romans claimed only for their Province a narrow strip of territory on the coast. But it was not her policy to respect without reserve the sovereignty of the kings upon her borders, and at Masinissa's death her hand was traced in the partition of his power among his children. Two out of the three soon passed away, and their shares reverted to Micipsa, who, after a long period of undivided rule, left two sons who were to share his broad lands with their cousin Jugurtha.

Jealous bickerings and civil strife soon followed, in the course of which the masterful Jugurtha killed one and overpowered the other of his rivals, and brought the Romans once more upon the scene. Their standard was not so high indeed that they

should intervene solely in the interests of justice, but they had no wish for a resolute and ambitious prince upon their borders, with all the forces of Numidia at his back, and again they insisted on division. But the strife soon broke out afresh, in defiance of the authority of Rome, and the weaker lost his throne and life, and the bold Jugurtha ruled alone. Rome might not have stirred a hand to punish the aggressor, if her own interest had not called for action. As it was the government was slow and undecided. When war was declared the generals, incapable or corrupt, betrayed the honour of their country and agreed to terms of ignominious peace. The tribunes of the commons, as the leaders of the opposition, seized the opportunity to denounce the conduct of affairs, and clamour for a special court for the trial of the official misdemeanours. Jugurtha himself appeared in Rome, not to give evidence indeed against his partisans, as was proposed, but to watch over his interests which were the subject of debate. His bribes, scattered with a lavish hand, might perhaps have brought him safety, if he had not struck down even in the streets of Rome by an assassin's hand a kinsman, who was put forward as a rival claimant to his kingdom. This was too much, and he was warned to quit Rome at once, and to prepare for war. The friends who intrigued for him in the senate were driven to flight or silence, and the Republic sent her best generals into the field against him. He would gladly have purchased peace at almost any price, but it was too late, and it remained only to baffle attack by guerilla warfare, and rely on the rugged hills and trackless wastes, which were formidable obstacles to the movement of the legions.

They marched to and fro over the country, routed the native bands which dispersed only to reform, plundered the homesteads, took his strongholds and treasure cities; but still the struggle was continued, and they seemed no nearer to the end. But guile was tried as well as force: the proud aristocrat Metellus did not scruple to tamper with the servants of Jugurtha, and bribe them to betray their master.

Marius and Sulla did the like with more success, and won over the Mauretanian Bocchus, who entrapped Jugurtha in the toils, and sold to Rome the enemy she could not conquer in the field.

The fallen chieftain found no mercy while he lived, and after his death his character was pourtrayed in the darkest colours.

It is quite probable, as has been suggested (Ihne, Hist. vol. 5), that he was not so black as he was painted, and that the Civil War was not entirely due to his unscrupulous ambition; but it is idle now to try to rewrite without further evidence the story of his times. Certainly his gallant struggle deserved more generous recognition: while hunted himself from place to place he spared the Roman Province, and wreaked no vengeance where he had the power; the charges of cruelty and bad faith come with an ill grace from writers who have no word of censure for the perfidy and meanness which alone enabled the generals of Rome to end the war.

One of the chief interests for Sallust in the subject probably consisted in the illustrations which it gave of the shortcomings of the oligarchical *régime.*

In place of the proud self-respect of real nobility he could see only the venality of corrupt officials, who had won their curule honours and standing in the senate by lavish outlay in catering for the people's pleasures and were ready to recoup themselves by any means, to sell their influence to the highest bidder, and turn their rank into their stock in trade. The choice of rulers seemed to be restricted to narrow coteries of titled families, who made common cause in order to push forward the most incapable and unworthy candidates for power, and screen from justice notorious offenders, while they spent much of their strength in personal feuds and sacrificed the interests of state in order to gain a momentary triumph over the champion of a rival faction.

The haughty arrogance of the nobles, who claimed place and power as their exclusive right, is aptly illustrated by the cool contempt with which Metellus discouraged the hopes of Marius and deeply offended the ambitious soldier (Jug. 64. 4). If he could be treated with such insolence weaker aspirants were little likely to find generous reception, and the new men (*novi homines*) on the official roll were therefore very few from Cato the Elder to the days of Caesar.

These proud pretensions of the would-be rulers did not rest certainly on any exceptional skill or courage. Like most of the

great wars which Rome had waged, that with Jugurtha began with failure and disgrace; incompetent generals and unruly soldiers made success impossible at first, till the bands of discipline were tightened by a firmer hand, and the real soldier, Marius, chosen for his undoubted experience and skill, replaced the old absurdity of untried commanders, fresh from the intrigues and bribery of the annual elections.

Such were the political abuses which gave a substance to the bold invectives of the tribunes, and intensified the outburst of popular resentment in the early stages of the war. In this reaction there was one ominous feature, which was not present in the movement of the Gracchi. The cause of reform had found not merely an eloquent voice to stir the passions of the people, but a strong hand to assert its claims in action : the tribune and the general could make common cause, and the example of that union was given which was one day to be fatal to the influence of the senate, and was to hand over the state to an imperial master.

II. THE LAND AND PEOPLE OF NUMIDIA.

To the land which was peopled by the Berbers—of which the ancient Numidia had been the centre—the Arabs gave the characteristic name of the island of the West, or Moghreb. It is washed on the three sides by the waves of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, while on the south the vast expanse of the Sahara, which was once an inland sea, divides it by a thousand miles of sand from the central Negro land.

Its most distinctive features are determined by one mountain system, that of the legendary Atlas, whose articulations mark it out into three successive zones, the Tell in the region near the coast, the steppes of the central uplands, and beyond them the oases of verdure which relieve the scorched desert of the great Sahara.

(1) The Tell is the rich land of agricultural wealth, which is enclosed within the buttresses of Atlas and the sea ; of variable

character and width, it narrows on the west at Oran to a fringe of rugged hills, on the crest of which the villages of the Kabyles are sometimes perched in what seem inaccessible positions, while their upland slopes and winding valleys attract and repay the labours of an industrious population. In the province of Constantine again it widens to a broad region, whose vast plains supplied of old the granaries of imperial Rome, the land also of the olive and the vine, as of many another product. Its limits again contract as we pass further to the east, where it includes little more than the fertile basin of the Medjerda (Bagradas) and its tributary streams, and dies away almost at the gates of Tunis.

(2) Further inland is the region of the steppes, the great plateau supported by the mountain ranges which run from the south-west to the north-east through the whole breadth of Northern Africa. These highland plains, which are the fit scenes of pastoral life, incline somewhat on both sides towards the centre, and the waters that make their way along them find no issue, save here and there by some fissure in the balustrade of rocks, like that by which the Cheliff and W. el Kebir have burst a channel for their passage to the sea. They stagnate therefore in their marshy basins, or drain at last into the *chotts*, the salt-lakes, which themselves appear for months merely dry beds of glittering sand and clay.

(3) The southern slope of the plateau looks towards the desert wastes, but there are still pastures to be found upon the hills, and even far away among the plains, there are the green islands of the palm trees and the wells, where travellers can rest awhile, and the nomads of the desert can return as to their home. These were probably unknown to Sallust, but their natural features were vividly described by Pliny at a later time. '*Fons abundat, largus quidem, sed certis horarum spatiis dispensatur inter incolas. Palmae ibi praegrandi subditur olea, huic ficus, fico Punica, illi vitis: sub vite seritur frumentum, mox legumen, deinde olus; omnia eodem anno; omniaque aliena umbra aluntur*' (N. H. 18. 51).

These even at a later age bounded the horizon to the Roman eye, and beyond these all remained unknown.

The marked features of these zones appear dimly in the brief

description of Herodotus (2. 32) and Pomponius Mela (1. 8), though the wild beasts of which the former speaks as distinguishing the second region, and which afterwards supplied the amphitheatres of Italy, have grown rarer in the course of ages. The elephants indeed, on which the Carthaginians and the later princes drew so freely for their wars, though natives of the country, dwindled in time, and then wholly disappeared. The description *malifici generis plurima animalia* of Sallust (Jug. 17. 6) is true to the prevalent belief of ancient times, but hardly to the present facts.

Some of the main characteristics of the soil and climate are indeed described by him with much conciseness and sobriety of language. Now as of old the land is *frugum fertilis*, *bonus pecori*, and there is still *caelo terraque penuria aquarum*. The words *arbori infecundus* are more true perhaps of the present than of the times succeeding the Roman occupation of the country. In the Regency of Tunis there are clear signs of a large and prosperous population in the past, even where there is now little to be seen but sand and ruins. Evidence of olive plantations can be found constantly in treeless wastes, and an early historian speaks of one continuous forest stretching from Tripoli to Tangier at the time of the Arab conquest (Playfair, Travels, p. 155).

In his own military operations in the neighbourhood of the Syrtis Sallust may have had personal experience of the sudden storms and the infrequent harbours (*mare saevom inportuosum*) which made ancient navigation dangerous in those waters. We naturally look, however, for some more detailed description of the seat of war, and here we find his statements meagre and indefinite in the extreme. Spring after spring the Roman legions must have marched from their winter quarters in the Province along the rich valley of the Bagradas (Medjerda), over the teeming luxuriance of its meadows, whose colouring seems to the modern traveller 'beautiful beyond description,' and reminds him of the patterns of a gigantic Oriental carpet. 'And as they weave into the midst of their many-coloured textures passages from the Koran in white colours, so does the winding Bagrada, with its numerous branches, intersect this natural carpet like the writing of Titans' (Hesse-Wartegg, Tunis, p. 221). But

Sallust does not even mention it by name, or spend one word upon the scenes through which he must have passed.

As governor of Africa he could scarcely, we should think, have failed to know something of the marvellous strength and beauty of the site of Cirta, and yet his description of the siege ignores it wholly, and is almost incompatible with any personal acquaintance with the city. He speaks of mountains and of deserts, but we get no vivid image of the rugged hills and highland plains, which cover so much of the country, nor of the oases which are so entirely unique. Four or five proper names are mentioned in the course of the campaigns, but it is impossible to fix in any way the general's route, or to explain the conditions of space and time which are made sometimes hopelessly conflicting, as especially in the account of the marches and countermarches which are crowded into a few months in the last campaign (cf. note on J. 100. 1).

It remains now to speak of the Numidian race, and of its earlier relations to the neighbouring peoples.

The Phoenician influence on the coast of Africa, to which Sallust several times refers, began in the age of the maritime ascendancy of Sidon, during which, probably in the thirteenth century B.C., she planted the colony of Cambe on the site of the later Carthage, and Hippo not far off, together with Leptis near the Syrtes. Other settlements were made by the same power, or by the allied cities of the Syrian coast, but no details are known as to their order or extent. But a kindred race was probably already planted in that region, if we may trust the traditions of a later age which take a very circumstantial form, and which often reappear in Jewish and in early Christian sources. The Canaanites, we read, expelled from their old homes by the followers of Joshua, sought shelter first among the kindred tribes of the Phoenician coast, where there was little room for the new comers. To relieve the overcrowded population ships were found to carry them across the seas, and among others the Gergashites and Jebusites are said to have made their way to Northern Africa, where, unlike the Phoenician settlers on the coast, they returned to the habits of their agricultural or pastoral life in the inland plains and valleys.

Mingling with the native tribes they fused together into the wide-spread Liby-Phoenician people. This extended much further to the West, if we may trust the local belief connected with the inscription said by Procopius (Bell. Vand. 2. 10) to be still existing in his day on pillars of white marble at Tangier (Τίγισις). 'We are the fugitives who fled from the face of the brigand Joshua' (*ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λῃστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ*). The genuineness of the inscription may be doubted, as also the precise form in which the narrative is given, but native traditions seem to point to widely extended settlements in Northern Africa of fugitives from Canaan, who made their way across the sea more probably at different times as they were pushed from their old homes by the invading tribes of Israel. Though of kindred race to the Phoenicians, the influence exerted by them was distinct in type, and it was spread too far in the interior to be due merely to the energy of the merchant colonies upon the coast, and in this way may be best explained the enduring traces of the Punic language in wide lands over which even Carthage in the days of her empire held no sway.

In the twelfth century B.C. Tyre stepped into the place of primacy which Sidon had long held upon the sea, and carried on with energy the work of colonial enterprise in the far West. Utica was the first founded, and was long the centre of Tyrian influence and trade along the northern coast, which was surrounded by a chain of settlements reaching to the Emporia of the Syrtes. These were convenient halting places on the way to Spain, the South of which was occupied before long by the Tyrian traders, while Liby-Phoenicians were transplanted from the other continent to spread the arts of agricultural life among the natives. Colonies were planted also on the western coast of Africa, in favoured regions where the advantages of soil and climate were so great that they spread rapidly till some three hundred of them could be counted up, though their prosperity was not of long duration.

A new epoch began when a band of aristocratic exiles quitted Tyre in 872 B.C., and founded Carthage on the ruins of the old Sidonian Cambe. She soon eclipsed her sisters on the coast, survived the attacks of her Numidian neighbours, pushed her

influence far inland, sent out fresh streams of colonists through Zeugitana and Byzacium, and when Tyre fell in 574 B.C., she stood forth to assert her claims to the colonial heritage, and became an imperial power, while respecting the nominal independence of some of the older settlements upon the coast.

Of the peoples of the interior the names are less definite, and the history is more obscure. There is first the strange tradition, quoted by Sallust (18. 4) from the books of the Numidian prince Hiempsal, which makes the Medes and Persians cross over from Spain, where the army of Hercules had been scattered at his death. The names themselves of course are in such connexion quite fantastic, but Hercules constantly appears in the legends both of Africa and Spain as a symbol of Phoenician enterprise, conducted to new scenes by the Tyrian god Melkarth, and supported often by the swords of mercenary bands, such as those of the Carians, who are so often found connected with them. The story may therefore simply point to the arrival of the Tyrian colonists on the Atlantic coast, and to the soldiers of fortune who followed in their service. These last could be only traced to Asia, and in a later age the familiar names of Medes and Persians were added to the legend.

Sallust, or Hiempsal his informant, goes on to tell us of the fusion between the so-called Persian immigrants and the native Gaetulian tribes, which gave rise in course of time to the Numidian people. Other accounts of native origin point also to the ruin or decay of the colonies on the western coast, and of the growth of a widespread inland power in the ninth century before our era. It is probable, as Movers has suggested (Phoenizier 2. 448), that the colonies fell before the attacks of nomad tribes, for the history has often been repeated in other lands and ages.

The mercenaries may also have made common cause with the invaders, and turned their swords against their masters, and it is possible in this way to account for the growth of a Numidian power, which made itself felt even far away, and dominated for a while the new Tyrian settlement at Carthage. The native dynasties thus founded show clear traces of intermarriage with Phoenician women, and their personal and local

names, together with the inscriptions on their coins, bear witness at a later age to the continued influence of the colonizing race.

If such a theory seem too bold, it may be thought again that Celtic tribes, pushed forward by invading races, may have crossed the straits at some time and made their way still onwards till their advance was barred by wastes of sand. Fair-complexioned tribes are found to this day among the ranges of the Atlas, and Mount Aures, and these may be possibly the isolated remnants of a people distinct in stock from all the neighbouring races.

Or we may think of the Libyan Maschouasch, and their confederates across the seas, who repeatedly invaded Egypt during the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, and who are spoken of as spreading far away along the coast, and were known possibly to Herodotus under the name of Maxyes (4. 191) beyond the Lake Tritonis. The invaders in the West may have formed part of such a general migration, which is thought to have left some traces of an Aryan type, though little can be really known upon the subject.

But whatever may have been the various elements thus superposed, all indications point to the existence of one wide-spread race—identical at least in its substratum—which extended from the Syrtes to the Atlantic Ocean. On one side it was known to Greek and Romans as the Nomads or Numidians, who gave a name to the country that lay South of the confines of Carthage, and stretched to the West as far as the Mulucha. They occupied therefore all the modern Algeria, and most of the Regency of Tunis. Among them in earlier times two tribal aggregates had struggled for the mastery, the Massaesyli ruled by Syphax in the West and the Massyli of Masinissa to the East. The rivalry was ended by the final victory of the latter, when both were fused in one coherent kingdom. Beyond these were the Mauri to the far West, whose name and boundaries have still remained with little change in the modern Empire of Marocco: while to the South the Romans heard of the Gaetuli in the wide border region of the oases and Salt Lakes that lies between the mountain ranges and the interminable sands of the Sahara.

We need not go over the muster-roll of the local names recorded by Herodotus, most of which were of narrow range

and otherwise unknown. Modern insight or fancy, it is true, can discern in the Μάξυες (4. 191) the Maschouasch of the Egyptian monuments, and the Amâzigh of Marocco, in the Ζαύηκες (4. 193) the ancestors of the Zouaves of Algeria, and the Ziguenses, Zeugi of Zagouan and Zeugitana and in the Βύζαντες —also spoken of by Scylax—the origin of the names given to Byzacium in later times.

But most of these were probably but different branches of what is now best known as the Berber race, which stretched almost from the Nile to the Atlantic, and of which pure types may still be found in the Kabyles of the French province, and the Touaregs of the Sahara. The language and written character belonging to the race are believed to be preserved in the bilingual inscriptions found at Thugga and elsewhere, and analogies are traced between them and the native forms which have survived only among the Touaregs. The names indeed just mentioned are not properly their own, and have no purely ethnic value. The Arabs spoke contemptuously of the *berbera* or unintelligible jargon spoken by the races which they fought in Africa, or of the *K'bails* (Kabyles), the scattered clans that seemed to have no national centre. The native race has seen Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Arabs, French, pass as conquerors through their land: has heard first one tongue and then another spoken as the language of government around them. But it has held its own in spite of all the vicissitudes of conquest; retiring to the mountains or the wilderness before the storm, but still retaining with tenacious grasp the characteristic features of its natural life.

The different types of outward customs are the same in the main as in the days of Sallust, for they depend on the unchanging features of the soil and climate. Near the coast settled habits are determined by the richness of the products, as when the Liby-Phoenicians sowed and harvested of old, and the Carthaginian rulers did their best to encourage skilful tillage, and King Mago wrote the books on agriculture which the Roman senate found worthy of translation. The Numidians somewhat farther from the sea had been gradually brought under the same influence, and had forsaken the nomad habits of their fathers.

Italian traders were attracted to the towns (Jug. 26 and 47). We hear of Greeks even drawn to Cirta by the liberal policy of King Micipsa (Strabo, 17. 3); and the great funeral monuments which still remain, though they may remind us by their size of the pyramids of Egypt, show in their architectural forms more of the spirit of Hellenic art. Frenchmen, Italians, Jews, now represent among them the more developed modes of civilized life, and have stamped their influence on the face of the old towns. But in the country villages the native *gourbis*, of rough stones plastered with mud and roofed with thatch, and fenced with a hedge of cactus, reproduce the rude huts (*tuguria*) of which the Roman writers speak; while others, more peculiar in shape, exactly correspond to the description of the inverted boat which Sallust thinks a reminiscence of the ships on which the first immigrants arrived (*oblonga incurvis lateribus tecta quasi navium carinae sunt*, Jug. 18. 8).

The highlands are the home of pastoral life. Herdsmen and shepherds still wander slowly over those vast plains as when Pomponius Mela wrote (*sequuntur vagi pecora . . . . atque ubi dies deficit, ibi noctem agunt*, 1. 8). The monotony of that lonely life, and the weary length of the way they have to travel to the markets of the coast are still rendered faithfully by the expressive lines of Vergil—

> '*Saepe diem noctemque, et totum ex ordine mensem*
> *Pascitur itque pecus longa in deserta sine ullis*
> *Hospitiis: tantum campi jacet. Omnia secum*
> *Armentarius Afer agit, tectumque Laremque,*
> *Armaque Amiclaeumque canem Cressamque pharetram.*'
>
> Georg. iii. 341–346.

Beyond that are the horsemen of the desert, whose *douars* (*mapalia*) still present the household of the patriarchal type. Invading Arabs have occupied the plains, but they too have found a sanction in their Koran for the arrangements of the family which were described in the ancient natives of that region ('*Quamquam in familias passim et sine lege dispersi, nihil in commune consultant, tamen quia singulis aliquot simul conjuges, et plures ob id liberi agnatique sunt, nusquam pauci*,' Pomp. Mela 1. 8).

Sallust speaks of the Numidian as *velox patiens laborum* (Jug. 17. 6). Regular industry of course can only be expected in a people whose life has settled into homely ways, among an agricultural rather than a pastoral or nomad race.

The Kabyle husbandman is represented as of steady and laborious energy, shunning idleness as a reproach, taking kindly to employment as artisan or trader as well as to the labours of the field, and moving readily from the country to the town in search of more remunerative work. The Touaregs again of the Sahara seem indifferent to the extremes of heat and cold, and to abrupt transitions between the feverish marshes and the arid sands. Their patient hardihood is ready for all trials, and they have all the rapidity of movement which is common among the wild horsemen of the desert.

Reference has been already made to the accounts furnished by Herodotus of the peoples of Northern Africa. From the variety of local names it would appear in the fifth century B.C. only tribal unions existed, and those of limited extent. In the neighbourhood and under the influence of Carthage there was later more coherence, and thus we read in Sallust of great kingdoms among the Numidae and Mauri. But the union was probably precarious and weak ; the army of Jugurtha dispersed after a battle—*quo cujusque animus fert eo discedunt* (Jug. 54. 4)—as if each clan acted for itself, when the common enterprise was over. Towns and districts too are represented as making their own terms with the invaders, while their king is still in arms.

The great vicissitudes in the career of Masinissa point to a like conclusion. Now he is at the head of the Massyli, now flying with a few faithful comrades before overpowering force, now a tracked and wounded outlaw whose followers subsist on brigandage. Then again, years afterwards, the clansmen flock around him when he comes to lead them to the war.

In modern days the love of tribal independence has been so strong among the native races, that they could not combine even to defend it. The Arabs of the tent look for their government to the natural heads of family and clan, and care only for an union of the patriarchal type. The Kabyles of the highlands carried their love of equality and freedom to the

furthest limit of democracy: entrenched in their mountain strongholds they seem to have paid little more than nominal submission to Roman, Vandal, Arab masters, to have clung to their customs and language with obstinate tenacity, while every village claimed to be self-governed, under a loose federation of the weakest type.

To modify an individualism so excessive there has grown up the institution of the *sof.* This is the spirit of faction which divides and reunites on some new principle the members of every local aggregate, bringing disunion into the valley, the hamlet, even into the narrow circle of the family, but on the other hand providing every one with friends, partisans, allies, in far-off regions. Its boundary lines may be undulating and capricious; it may depend on enduring marks of difference, or grow out of the pettiest and most accidental causes, but it is strong enough to become a master passion, and dictate the terms of a whole code of honour. It may perhaps be not too bold to argue in this matter from the present to the past. Possibly, if we had more details, we might explain by the action of the *sof* much of what is told us of the alliances, animosities, dynastic quarrels, in the history of Northern Africa.

Carthage was certainly not slow to take advantage of the divisions in the native races; she played off a Syphax against a Masinissa, and brought first one and then the other to her side when his rival was in arms against her.

Each of them had probably at first no organized kingdom, but only personal adherents, with the varying support of larger or smaller aggregates of the same *sof.* Rome was not slow to learn the lesson, and her fortune brought her at the last the ablest partisan. The rival claims again of Mezetulus and Masinissa, or of the successors of Micipsa, or the pretensions even of a Gauda, may have rested for support on such divisions. So the chieftains of the Mauri, Bocchus, and Bogud, fight first together on the side of Caesar against the Numidian Juba, but afterwards join different parties in the Civil Wars of Rome, and twice at different epochs are found in hostile camps, where they represent probably great national parties.

III. CHANGES IN THE MILITARY SYSTEM INTRODUCED IN THE AGE OF MARIUS.

In the age of Marius changes were introduced which tended almost to revolutionize the military system of the Romans. Of these some were directly due to the insight or policy of Marius himself, while others may be illustrated from what we know of his career. It may be convenient therefore to have a summary statement of them put together here.

1°. It had for ages rested with the senate as a matter of unquestioned right to prepare for each campaign by regulating the extent and source of the new levies while determining the total numbers that were to be brought into the field. But Marius in his first consulship, we read (Jug. 84), acting on his own discretion, largely exceeded the limits which the senate had determined, and set thereby a precedent which the great commanders of the future were not slow to follow.

2°. A far more sweeping change gave a new character to the rank and file. Drawn by conscription hitherto from all classes save the lowest, they had carried with them to the camp the sentiments of the land owner or the farmer; the poorest were now to be admitted to the ranks; volunteers took the place of conscripts; they were bound to twenty years of service: even after that they were often kept under the standards (*vexillarii*), though free from the hard routine of work and drill. The soldier's life therefore was a professional career, and all his interests, prospects, and ambition centred in the camp, where he soon learned to think more of the sympathies which bound him to his comrades and commander than of loyalty to the government at Rome (Jug. 86).

3°. To secure unity of action and success at a distant seat of war or in far-reaching struggles it was found needful to keep the same general in command year after year. Thus Marius was elected consul in his absence to meet the invading Cimbri (Jug. 114. 3), and remained at his post till the enemies were crushed or routed. There was thus time for the growth of personal attachment between the soldiers and the leader who had led them

to victories, or sated them with plunder. The oligarchy could no longer reckon with confidence upon the army, which before was levied or disbanded at its pleasure, and commanded only by its nominees. Ambitious leaders were not slow to profit by the chances offered. Marius indeed won the affections of his men by sharing every hardship with them, and by consummate mastery of every detail of duty (Jug. 63). Others stooped to more questionable means, relaxed the bonds of discipline, and bid for popularity by largess and indulgence, increasing thus the licence of peace and the cruelties of war (Plutarch, Sulla, 11).

4°. The soldiers of fortune who now crowded to the camp began to look for some provision when their term of service had expired. They cast greedy eyes upon the state domain or public land which was the prize of conquest, and their old commander strained all his influence to push their claims at Rome.

In earlier days colonies had been sent out from time to time to guard disputed frontiers, or to satisfy the landless poor, but now they took the form of retiring pensions for the veterans. Grants of land were made by thousands for this purpose, with scant regard sometimes for the rights of former occupants or neighbours; comrades in the ranks settled side by side upon the farms, where they wearied often of the homely labour, flocked together to the standard of their former leader, or to some partisan who used the same rallying cry.

5°. The general whose best years were spent in active service in the field had little time to gain experience of the shifting currents of the party politics of Rome, or skill in the debates of the senate or the forum. But there was sure to be some statesman or intriguer, ready to make common cause with a great soldier, to urge his claims upon the public ear, to propose the grant of a triumph in his honour, or a colonial settlement for his veterans, or an extraordinary commission when he wished again for service. The league of Marius with Saturninus was the beginning of a fatal system which degraded alike the statesman and the soldier, and made the tribunate a mere tool of military ambition, instead of a bulwark of constitutional rights.

The influence of the nobles certainly had suffered while

the military institutions were being thus remodelled. But privilege and class-distinctions were still amply represented in the service. Marius perhaps had risen from the ranks, and in the Civil Wars a few adventurers may have pushed their way to place and fortune in spite of their ignoble birth. But the soldiers (*gregarii milites*) commonly aspired to nothing higher than the post of a Centurion : the officers were drawn wholly from the ruling classes, and the lines were sharply drawn between the separate careers. Senators and knights had once served in the cavalry which was attached to all the legions, but this practice had fallen long ago into disuse ; volunteers of lower rank first took their places, and at last that arm of the service was left exclusively to the dependant races, like the auxiliary cohorts which were markedly distinguished from the regular infantry of Rome.

The other changes that were introduced affected the tactics of the army rather than its spirit or its relations to the civil powers.

6°. The four different grades of infantry appear no more after the Jugurthine war ; the three lines of the legion—the *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*, with their difference of rank and armour, based upon the old distinctions of the Servian constitution, disappear about this time, with the *velites* who served beside them. The light armed troops are drawn exclusively from the allies, and the legion becomes a uniform and compact mass.

7°. Ten cohorts now replace the thirty maniples of earlier times. To withstand the weight and rush of the first rapid onset of the Cimbri it was needful perhaps to draw up the lines in closer order. The old system with its regular intervals between the maniples was better suited for manœuvres in the face of disciplined enemies with cautious tactics, but the Northern tribes relied on an impetuous charge and overpowering numbers (cf. Marquardt, Rom. St. 2. 422).

8°. The *pilum* had become the common weapon of the homogeneous legion. It was modified by Marius for the Cimbric wars. Of the two pegs which fastened the spike of metal to the handle, one was now made of wood which snapped under the weight of the spear when it was hurled, so that it either became bent and useless, or dragged heavily after the shield on which it struck, encumbering the movement of the bearer.

9°. The legion, which had now become a compact mass, was furnished with a common ensign. There had been separate standards (*signa*) for the maniples before, but the silver eagle which we read of in the ranks of Catiline (Cat. 59. 3) was set up by Marius for the whole legion, and became henceforth the symbol of the soldier's duties, and the object almost of his religious worship.

10°. One point remains which shows his minute attention to details. A great general combines wide-reaching plans with special thought about the particulars of execution ; the Roman commander gave his name to a contrivance by which his men might carry their food and clothing with more ease.

These were bound in separate bundles which were strapped to thin strips of wood, and carried on the prongs of a long fork. This was then thrown across the shoulders on the march, as we may see pourtrayed at Rome on the bas-reliefs of Trajan's column ('*Muli Mariani dici solent a Mario instituti, cujus milites in furca interposita tabella varicosius onera sua portare assueverunt,*' Festus).

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

DE CONIURATIONE CATILINAE

LIBER.

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

DE CONIURATIONE CATILINAE

LIBER.

1. Omnis homines, qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri oboedientia
2 finxit. sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est: animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis
3 cum dis, alterum cum beluis commune est. quo mihi rectius videtur ingeni quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere et, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri quam
4 maxume longam efficere. nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur.
5 Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis
6 an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet. nam et prius quam incipias consulto et ubi consulueris mature facto
7 opus est. ita utrumque per se indigens alterum alterius auxilio eget. 2. igitur initio reges—nam in terris nomen imperi id primum fuit—divorsi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agita-
2 batur, sua cuique satis placebant. postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbis atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maxumo imperio putare, tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum, in bello plurumum
3 ingenium posse. quodsi regum atque imperatorum animi

virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilius atque con-
stantius sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud alio ferri
neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneres. nam imperium 4
facile eis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. verum 5
ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido
atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus inmutatur.
ita imperium semper ad optumum quemque a minus bono 6
transfertur.

Quae homines arant navigant aedificant, virtuti omnia 7
parent. sed multi mortales dediti ventri atque somno indocti 8
incultique vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere: quibus profecto
contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. eorum
ego vitam mortemque iuxta aestumo, quoniam de utraque
siletur. verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere atque frui 9
anima videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus praeclari facinoris
aut artis bonae famam quaerit. sed in magna copia rerum
aliud alii natura iter ostendit. **3.** pulchrum est bene facere
rei publicae, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est: vel pace
vel bello clarum fieri licet. et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum
scripsere, multi laudantur. ac mihi quidem, tametsi haud 2
quaquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et auctorem rerum,
tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere; primum
quod facta dictis exaequanda sunt, dehinc quia plerique quae
delicta reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia dicta putant; ubi
de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi
quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit, supra ea
veluti ficta pro falsis ducit.

Sed ego adulescentulus initio sicuti plerique studio ad rem 3
publicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere. nam
pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute audacia, largitio,
avaritia vigebant. quae tametsi animus aspernabatur insolens 4
malarum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla aetas am-
bitione conrupta tenebatur: ac me cum ab reliquorum malis 5

moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem qua
ceteros fama atque invidia vexabat. **4.** igitur ubi animus ex
multis miseriis atque periculis requievit et mihi reliquam
aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit
consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere,
neque vero agrum colundo aut venando servilibus officiis
2 intentum aetatem agere; sed a quo incepto studioque me
ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas
populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna vide-
bantur, perscribere; eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu,
3 partibus rei publicae animus liber erat. igitur de Catilinae
4 coniuratione quam verissume potero paucis absolvam: nam
id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque
5 periculi novitate. de cuius hominis moribus pauca prius ex-
planada sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

5. L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi
2 et corporis sed ingenio malo pravoque. huic ab adulescentia
bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis grata fuere,
3 ibique iuventutem suam exercuit. corpus patiens inediae,
4 algoris, vigiliae supra quam cuiquam credibile est. animus
audax subdolus varius, cuius rei lubet simulator ac dissimu-
lator, alieni adpetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus:
5 satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum. vastus animus inmode-
6 rata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. hunc post
dominationem L. Sullae lubido maxuma invaserat rei publicae
capiundae, neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi
7 regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. agitabatur magis
magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et con-
scientia scelerum, quae utraque eis artibus auxerat, quas
8 supra memoravi. incitabant praeterea conrupti civitatis mores,
quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia,
9 vexabant. res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civi-
tatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere ac paucis instituta

maiorum domi militiaeque, quo modo rem publicam ha-
buerint quantamque reliquerint, ut paulatim inmutata ex
pulcherrima atque optuma pessuma ac flagitiosissuma facta
sit, disserere.

6. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi condidere atque ha-
buere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis
vagabantur, cumque eis Aborigines, genus hominum agreste,
sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. hi post- 2
quam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere dissimili lingua,
alii alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile
coaluerint: ita brevi multitudo dispersa atque vaga concordia
civitas facta erat. sed postquam res eorum civibus moribus 3
agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti
pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est.
igitur reges populique finitumi bello temptare, pauci ex amicis 4
auxilio esse: nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant. at 5
Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium
hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem patriam parentesque
armis tegere. post ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis
atque amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis quam acci-
piundis benificiis amicitias parabant. imperium legitumum, 6
nomen imperi regium habebant. delecti, quibus corpus annis
infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei publicae con-
sultabant: ei vel aetate vel curae similitudine patres appella-
bantur. post ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandae 7
libertatis atque augendae rei publicae fuerat, in superbiam
dominationemque se convortit, inmutato more annua imperia
binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minume posse
putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

7. Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque magis extollere
magisque ingenium in promptu habere. nam regibus boni 2
quam mali suspectiores sunt semperque eis aliena virtus formi-
dulosa est. sed civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta 3

libertate quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae in-
4 cesserat. iam primum iuventus, simul ac belli patiens erat,
in castris per laborem usum militiae discebat magisque in
decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque
5 conviviis lubidinem habebant. igitur talibus viris non labor
insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus
6 hostis formidulosus: virtus omnia domuerat. sed gloriae
maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: se quisque hostem
ferire, murum ascendere, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret,
properabat; eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque
nobilitatem putabant. laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant;
7 gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. memorare
possem quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus
Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbis natura munitas
pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

8. Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res
cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque.
2 Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestumo, satis amplae
magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam
3 fama feruntur. sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna
ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis
4 celebrantur. ita eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quan-
5 tum eam verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. at populo
Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissumus quisque
maxume negotiosus erat: ingenium nemo sine corpore
exercebat; optumus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis
benefacta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat. **9.** igitur
domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur, concordia maxuma,
minuma avaritia erat, ius bonumque apud eos non legibus
2 magis quam natura valebat. iurgia discordias simultates cum
hostibus exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant.
in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles
3 erant. duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat

aequitate seque remque publicam curabant. quarum rerum 4
ego maxuma documenta haec habeo, quod in bello saepius
vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugna-
verant quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui
signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, 5
quod benificiis magis quam metu imperium agitabant, et
accepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

10. Sed ubi labore atque iustitia res publica crevit, reges
magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti,
Carthago aemula imperi Romani ab stirpe interiit, cuncta
maria terraeque patebant; saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia
coepit. qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile 2
toleraverant, eis otium divitiae, optanda alias, oneri miseriaeque
fuere. igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit; 3
ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. namque avaritia 4
fidem probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvortit; pro his
superbiam crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere
edocuit. ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud 5
clausum in pectore aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias
inimicitiasque non ex re sed ex commodo aestumare magisque
voltum quam ingenium bonum habere. haec primo paulatim 6
crescere, interdum vindicari; post ubi contagio quasi pesti-
lentia invasit, civitas inmutata, imperium ex iustissumo atque
optumo crudele intolerandumque factum.

11. Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum
exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. nam 2
gloriam honorem imperium bonus et ignavos aeque sibi
exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonae artes
desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. avaritia pecuniae 3
studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea quasi
venenis malis inbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat,
semper infinita insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia
minuitur. sed postquam L. Sulla armis recepta re publica 4

bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere,
domum alius alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modes-
tiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere.
5 huc adcedebat quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ducta-
verat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem maiorum luxuriose
nimisque liberaliter habuerat. loca amoena, voluptaria facile
6 in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. ibi primum
insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare potare, signa tabulas
pictas vasa caelata mirari, ea privatim et publice rapere,
7 delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. igitur ei
milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis
fecere. quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant, ne
illi conruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.

12. Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria
imperium potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas
probro haberi; innocentia pro malivolentia duci coepit.
2 igitur ex divitiis iuventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum
superbia invasere; rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere,
aliena cupere, pudorem pudicitiam, divina atque humana
3 promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. operae pre-
tium est, cum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum
exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri maiores,
4 religiosissumi mortales, fecere. verum illi delubra deorum
pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quicquam
5 praeter iniuriae licentiam eripiebant. at hi contra ignavissumi
homines per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae
fortissumi viri victores reliquerant; proinde quasi iniuriam
facere id demum esset imperio uti. **13.** nam quid ea memorem,
quae nisi eis qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis con-
2 pluribus subvorsos montis, maria constrata esse? quibus
mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae, quippe quas honeste
3 habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. sed
lubido stupri ganeae ceterique cultus non minor incesserat:

viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere;
vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere, dormire prius
quam somni cupido esset, non famem aut sitim neque frigus
neque lassitudinem opperire sed ea omnia luxu antecapere.
haec iuventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora **4**
incendebant. animus inbutus malis artibus haud facile lubi- **5**
dinibus carebat; eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque
sumptui deditus erat.

14. In tanta tamque conrupta civitate Catilina, id quod
factu facillumum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum
circum se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat. nam qui- **2**
cumque inpudicus adulter ganeo manu ventre pene bona
patria laceraverat, quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, quo
flagitium aut facinus redimeret, praeterea omnes undique **3**
parricidae sacrilegi convicti iudiciis aut pro factis iudicium
timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua periurio aut san-
guine civili alebat, postremo omnes quos flagitium egestas
conscius animus exagitabat, ei Catilinae proxumi familiaresque
erant. quodsi quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam eius **4**
inciderat, cotidiano usu atque inlecebris facile par similisque
ceteris efficiebatur. sed maxume adulescentium familiaritates **5**
adpetebat; eorum animi molles et fluxi dolis haud difficulter
capiebantur. nam ut cuiusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, **6**
aliis scorta praebere aliis canes atque equos mercari, postremo
neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos
obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. scio fuisse nonnullos qui ita **7**
existumarent, iuventutem, quae domum Catilinae frequentabat,
parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis,
quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, haec fama valebat.

15. Iam primum adulescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra
fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestae, alia huius-
cemodi contra ius fasque. postremo captus amore Aureliae **2**
Orestillae, cuius praeter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit,

quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta aetate,
pro certo creditur necato filio vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis
3 fecisse. quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse
4 facinus maturandi. namque animus inpurus, dis homini-
busque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat:
5 ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. igitur colos ei
exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo modo tardus incessus;
prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat. **16.** sed iuventutem,
quam, ut supra diximus, inlexerat, multis modis mala facinora
2 edocebat. ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare;
fidem fortunas pericula vilia habere, post ubi eorum famam
3 atque pudorem adtriverat, maiora alia imperabat. si causa
peccandi in praesens minus subpetebat, nihilo minus insontis
sicuti sontis circumvenire, iugulare; scilicet, ne per otium
torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque
4 crudelis erat. eis amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul
quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat et quod
plerique Sullani milites largius suo usi rapinarum et victoriae
veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundae rei
5 publicae consilium cepit. in Italia nullus exercitus, Cn. Pom-
peius in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum
petenti magna spes, senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tran-
quillaeque res omnes, sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

17. Igitur circiter kalendas Iunias L. Caesare et C. Figulo
consulibus primo singulos appellare, hortari alios alios temp-
tare; opes suas, inparatam rem publicam, magna praemia
2 coniurationis docere. ubi satis explorata sunt quae voluit, in
unum omnis convocat quibus maxuma necessitudo et pluru-
3 mum audaciae inerat. eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Len-
tulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus,
P. et Ser. Sullae Ser. filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Por-
4 cius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; praeterea ex equestri ordine
M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cor-

nelius; ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles.
erant praeterea conplures paulo occultius consili huiusce 5
participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur
quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. ceterum iuventus pleraque, 6
sed maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat, quibus in
otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro
certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. fuere item ea tem- 7
pestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum eius
consili fuisse: quia Cn. Pompeius invisus ipsi magnum
exercitum ductabat, cuiusvis opes voluisse contra illius
potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si coniuratio valuisset,
facile apud illos principem se fore.

18. Sed antea item coniuravere pauci contra rem publicam,
in quis Catilina fuit; de qua quam verissume potero dicam.
L. Tullo et M'. Lepido consulibus P. Autronius et P. Sulla de- 2
signati consules legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant.
post paulo Catilina pecuniarum repetundarum reus prohibitus 3
erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitumos dies profiteri
nequiverit. erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adulescens nobilis 4
summae audaciae, egens factiosus, quem ad perturbandam
rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. cum 5
hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter nonas Decembris consilio
communicato parabant in Capitolio kalendis Ianuariis L. Cot-
tam et L. Torquatum consules interficere, ipsi fascibus correptis
Pisonem cum exercitu ad optinendas duas Hispanias mittere.
ea re cognita rursus in nonas Februarias consilium caedis 6
transtulerant. iam tum non consulibus modo sed plerisque 7
senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. quodni Catilina matu- 8
rasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam
urbem Romam pessumum facinus patratum foret. quia
nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium
diremit. **19.** postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quaestor
pro praetore missus est adnitente Crasso, quod eum infestum

2 inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. neque tamen senatus
provinciam invitus dederat, quippe foedum hominem a re
publica procul esse volebat; simul quia boni conplures
praesidium in eo putabant et iam tum potentia Pompei
3 formidulosa erat. sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus
Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est.
4 sunt qui ita dicant, imperia eius iniusta superba crudelia bar-
5 baros nequivisse pati; alii autem equites illos Cn. Pompei
veteres fidosque clientis voluntate eius Pisonem adgressos;
numquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia
saeva multa ante perpessos. nos eam rem in medio relin-
6 quemus. de superiore coniuratione satis dictum.

20. Catilina ubi eos, quos paulo ante memoravi, convenisse
videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen in
rem fore credens universos appellare et cohortari, in abdi-
tam partem aedium secessit atque ibi omnibus arbitris procul
amotis orationem huiuscemodi habuit.

2 'Ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata mihi forent, nequiquam
opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio in manibus
frustra fuissent, neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia
3 incerta pro certis captarem. sed quia multis et magnis tem-
pestatibus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus
est maxumum atque pulcherrumum facinus incipere, simul
quia vobis eadem quae mihi bona malaque esse intellexi:
4 nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia
5 est. sed ego quae mente agitavi omnes iam antea divorsi
6 audistis. ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur,
cum considero, quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet
7 ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. nam postquam res publica in
paucorum potentium ius atque dicionem concessit, semper
illis reges tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi nationes stipendia
pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui boni nobiles atque ignobiles,
volgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate, eis obnoxii, quibus,

si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. itaque omnis gratia 8
potentia honos divitiae apud illos sunt aut ubi illi volunt;
nobis reliquere pericula repulsas iudicia egestatem. quae 9
quousque tandem patiemini fortissumi viri? nonne emori
per virtutem praestat quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam,
ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere?
verum enimvero pro deum atque hominum fidem victoria in 10
manu vobis est, viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis
atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. tantum modo incepto
opus est, cetera res expediet. etenim quis mortalium, cui 11
virile ingenium est, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas
profundant in extruendo mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis
rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut
amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nus-
quam ullum esse? cum tabulas signa toreumata emunt, nova 12
diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam
trahunt vexant, tamen summa lubidine divitias suas vincere
nequeunt. at nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum, 13
mala res, spes multo asperior; denique quid reliqui habemus
praeter miseram animam? quin igitur expergiscimini? en 14
illa illa quam saepe optastis libertas, praeterea divitiae decus
gloria in oculis sita sunt. fortuna omnia ea victoribus prae-
mia posuit. res tempus pericula egestas, belli spolia mag- 15
nifica magis quam oratio mea vos hortantur. vel imperatore 16
vel milite me utimini; neque animus neque corpus a vobis
aberit. haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam, nisi 17
forte me animus fallit et vos servire magis quam imperare
parati estis.'

21. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique, ut proponeret, quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent.

2 tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locuple-
tium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quae bellum
3 atque lubido victorum fert. praeterea esse in Hispania cite-
riore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nuce-
rinum, consili sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium,
quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et
omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo se consulem
4 initium agundi facturum. ad hoc maledictis increpabat omnis
bonos, suorum unum quemque nominans laudare: admonebat
alium egestatis alium cupiditatis suae, conpluris periculi aut
ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae
5 fuerat. postquam omnium animos alacris videt, cohor-
tatus, ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.
22. fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent Catilinam oratione
habita cum ad iusiurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret,
humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris cir-
2 cumtulisse; inde cum post execrationem omnes degusta-
vissent, sicut in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse
consilium suum atque eo dictitare fecisse, quo inter se fidi
3 magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. nonnulli ficta
et haec et multa praeterea existumabant ab eis, qui Ciceronis
invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate
4 sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. nobis ea res pro
magnitudine parum comperta est.

23. Sed in ea coniuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud
obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem
2 censores senatu probri gratia moverant. huic homini non
minor vanitas inerat quam audacia: neque reticere, quae
audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque
3 dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat. erat ei cum
Fulvia muliere nobili stupri vetus consuetudo; cui cum
minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, re-
pente glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit et minari

interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret; postremo agitare
ferocius quam solitus erat. at Fulvia insolentiae Curi causa 4
cognita tale periculum rei publicae haud occultum habuit,
sed sublato auctore de Catilinae coniuratione quae quoque
modo audierat conpluribus narravit. ea res in primis studia 5
hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio
Ciceroni. namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat 6
et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egre-
gius homo novos adeptus foret. sed ubi periculum advenit,
invidia atque superbia post fuere. **24.** igitur comitiis habitis
consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius, quod fac-
tum primo popularis coniurationis concusserat. neque tamen 2
Catilinae furor minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare, arma
per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut ami-
corum fide sumptam mutuam Faesulas ad Manlium quendam
portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. ea tempestate 3
plurimos cuiusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mu-
lieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentis sumptus stupro cor-
poris toleraverant, post ubi aetas tantum modo quaestui
neque luxuriae modum fecerat, aes alienum grande con-
flaverant. per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana 4
sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adiungere sibi vel
interficere. **25.** sed in eis erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe
virilis audaciae facinora conmiserat. haec mulier genere 2
atque forma, praeterea viro, liberis satis fortunata fuit; lit-
teris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere saltare elegantius, quam
necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt.
sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; 3
pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres;
lubido sic accensa, ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur.
sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abiuraverat, 4
caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat.
verum ingenium eius haud absurdum: posse versus facere, 5

iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci;
prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

26. His rebus conparatis Catilina nihilo minus in proxu-
mum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret,
facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. neque interea quietus
2 erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. neque illi
3 tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant. namque a
principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam effe-
cerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia
4 Catilinae sibi proderet. ad hoc collegam suum Antonium
pactione provinciae perpulerat, ne contra rem publicam
sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque clientium oc-
5 culte habebat. postquam dies comitiorum venit et Catilinae
neque petitio neque insidiae, quas consulibus in campo
fecerat, prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere et extrema
omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte temptaverat aspera
foedaque evenerant. **27.** igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in
eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in
agrum Picenum, C. Iulium in Apuliam dimisit; praeterea
alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat.
2 interea Romae multa simul moliri, consulibus insidias tendere,
parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere,
ipse cum telo esse, item alios iubere, hortari uti semper
intenti paratique essent, dies noctisque festinare vigilare,
3 neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. postremo ubi multa
agitanti nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte coniurationis
4 principes convocat per M. Porcium Laecam, ibique multa de
ignavia eorum questus, docet se Manlium praemisisse ad eam
multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item alios
in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad
exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset;
eum suis consiliis multum officere. **28.** igitur perterritis ac
dubitantibus ceteris C. Cornelius eques Romanus operam

suam pollicitus et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator constituere
ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum
introire ad Ciceronem ac de inproviso domi suae inparatum
confodere. Curius ubi intellegit, quantum periculum consuli 2
inpendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur
enuntiat. ita illi ianua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susce- 3
perant.

Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate 4
simul ac dolore iniuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae
dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat, praeterea latro-
nes cuiusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat,
nonnullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria
ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat. **29.** ea cum Ciceroni
nuntiarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab
insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus
Manli quantus aut quo consilio foret satis conpertum habebat,
rem ad senatum refert, iam antea volgi rumoribus exagitatam.
itaque quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus de- 2
crevit, darent operam consules nequid res publica detri-
menti caperet. ea potestas per senatum more Romano 3
magistratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum
gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi
militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter
sine populi iussu nullius earum rerum consuli ius est. **30.** post
paucos dies L. Saenius senator in senatu litteras recitavit,
quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat
C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudine ante diem
VI kalendas Novembris. simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii 2
portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma
portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. igitur 3
senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas Q. Metellus Creticus
in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi—ei utrique ad urbem 4
imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent calumnia pau-

corum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos
5 erat—, sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam Q. Metellus
Celer in agrum Picenum, eisque permissum, uti pro tempore
6 atque periculo exercitum conpararent. ad hoc, siquis indi-
cavisset de coniuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat,
praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum, libero inpuni-
7 tatem eius rei et sestertia ducenta, itemque decrevere, uti
gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distri-
buerentur pro cuiusque opibus, Romae per totam urbem
vigiliae haberentur eisque minores magistratus praeessent.

31. Quibus rebus permota civitas atque inmutata urbis
facies erat. ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna
2 quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit: festinare
trepidare, neque loco neque homini cuiquam satis credere,
neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu
3 pericula metiri. ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae mag-
nitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, adflictare sese, manus
supplices ad caelum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitare,
omnia pavere, superbia atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque
diffidere.

4 At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi
praesidia parabantur et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab
5 L. Paulo. postremo dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi,
6 sicut iurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. tum M. Tullius
consul, sive praesentiam eius timens sive ira conmotus,
orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam
7 postea scriptam edidit. sed ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat
paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu voce supplici
postulare a patribus coepit nequid de se temere crederent;
ea familia ortum, ita se ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut
omnia bona in spe haberet. ne existumarent sibi patricio
homini, cuius ipsius atque maiorum pluruma benificia in
plebem Romanam essent, perdita re publica opus esse, cum

eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae. ad 8
hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem
atque parricidam vocare. tum ille furibundus 'quoniam 9
quidem circumventus' inquit 'ab inimicis praeceps agor,
incendium meum ruina restinguam.' **32.** deinde se ex curia
domum proripuit. ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque
insidiae consuli procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem
vigiliis munitam, optumum factu credens exercitum augere
ac prius quam legiones scriberentur multa antecapere, quae
bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana
castra profectus est. sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque, 2
quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat quibus
rebus possent opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli
maturent, caedem incendia aliaque belli facinora parent:
sese prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum.

33. Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero
legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis huiusce-
modi. 'Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma
neque contra patriam cepisse neque quo periculum aliis
faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab iniuria tuta forent, qui
miseri egentes violentia atque crudelitate feneratorum plerique
patriae sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus. neque
cuiquam nostrum licuit more maiorum lege uti neque amisso
patrimonio liberum corpus habere: tanta saevitia feneratorum
atque praetoris fuit. saepe maiores vostrum miseriti plebis 2
Romanae decretis suis inopiae eius opitulati sunt, ac novis-
sume memoria nostra propter magnitudinem aeris alieni
volentibus omnibus bonis argentum aere solutum est. saepe 3
ipsa plebes aut dominandi studio permota aut superbia
magistratuum armata a patribus secessit. at nos non im- 4
perium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum causa bella
atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt, sed libertatem,
quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit. te atque 5

senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus, legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis neve nobis eam necessitudinem inponatis, ut quaeramus, quonam modo maxume ulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus.' **34.** ad haec Q. Marcius respondit, siquid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur: ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populi Romani semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.
2 At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea optumo cuique litteras mittit, se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci, non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieta
3 foret neve ex sua contentione seditio oreretur. ab his longe divorsas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat. earum exemplum infra scriptum est. **35.** 'L. Catilina Q. Catulo. egregia tua fides re cognita, grata mihi magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam
2 commendationi meae tribuit. quam ob rem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare, satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam mediusfidius veram
3 licet cognoscas. iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus statum dignitatis non optinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi, non quin aes alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, at alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae suis filiaeque copiis persolveret: sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam meque falsa sus-
4 picione alienatum esse sentiebam. hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum
5 secutus. plura cum scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi
6 parari. nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado. eam ab iniuria defendas per liberos tuos rogatus. haveto.'

36. Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium
in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis
exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra
ad Manlium contendit. haec ubi Romae comperta sunt, 2
senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostis iudicat, ceterae mul-
titudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis
discedere praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis. praeterea 3
decernit uti consules dilectum habeant, Antonius cum exercitu
Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi praesidio sit.

Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxume 4
miserabile visum est. cui cum ad occasum ab ortu solis
omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiae, quae
prima mortales putant, adfluerent, fuere tamen cives qui
seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent.
namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine neque 5
praemio inductus coniurationem patefecerat neque ex castris
Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi ac
veluti tabes plerosque civium animos invaserat. **37.** neque
solum illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii coniurationis fuerant,
sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinae
incepta probabat. id adeo more suo videbatur facere. nam 2
semper in civitate quibus opes nullae sunt bonis invident, 3
malos extollunt, vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum
rerum mutari omnia student, turba atque seditionibus sine
cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno.
sed urbana plebes ea vero praeceps erat de multis causis. 4
primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume 5
praestabant, item alii qui per dedecora patrimoniis amissis,
postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat,
ei Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant. deinde multi 6
memores Sullanae victoriae, quod ex gregariis militibus alios
senatores videbant, alios ita divites ut regio victu atque cultu
aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria

7 talia sperabat. praeterea iuventus, quae in agris manuum
mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitioni-
bus excita urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat. eos
8 atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. quo minus mi-
randum est homines egentis, malis moribus maxuma spe, rei
9 publicae iuxta ac sibi consuluisse. praeterea quorum victoria
Sullae parentes proscripti, bona erepta, ius libertatis inmi-
nutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum expectabant.
10 ad hoc quicumque aliarum atque senatus partium erant, con-
11 turbari rem publicam quam minus valere ipsi malebant. id
adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem revorterat.
38. nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus
tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adulescentes sum-
mam potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animusque ferox erat,
coepere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiundo
atque pollicitando magis incendere, ita ipsi clari potentesque
2 fieri. contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas
3 senatus specie pro sua magnitudine. namque uti paucis
verum absolvam, post illa tempora quicumque rem publicam
agitavere honestis nominibus, alii sicuti populi iura defend-
erent, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum
publicum simulantes pro sua quisque potentia certabant.
4 neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat: utrique
victoriam crudeliter exercebant. **39.** sed postquam Cn. Pom-
peius ad bellum maritumum atque Mithridaticum missus est,
2 plebis opes inminutae, paucorum potentia crevit. ei magi-
stratus provincias aliaque omnia tenere, ipsi innoxii florentes
sine metu aetatem agere ceterosque iudiciis terrere, quo
3 plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent. sed ubi primum
dubiis rebus novandi spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos
4 eorum adrexit. quodsi primo proelio Catilina superior aut
aequa manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque ca-
lamitas rem publicam obpressisset, neque illis, qui victoriam

adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exan-
guibus qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret.
fuere tamen extra coniurationem conplures, qui ad Catilinam 5
initio profecti sunt. in eis erat Fulvius senatoris filius, quem
retractum ex itinere parens necari iussit.

Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praece- 6
perat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos
credebat, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque solum
civis, sed cuiusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello
usui foret. **40.** igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti
legatos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, inpellat ad
societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque aere alieno
obpressos, praeterea, quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset,
facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod 2
in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatium
notus erat atque eos noverat. itaque sine mora, ubi primum
legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu civitatis
et quasi dolens eius casum, requirere coepit, quem exitum
tantis malis sperarent. postquam illos videt queri de avaritia 3
magistratuum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxili nihil esset,
miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare, 'at ego' inquit
'vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta
ista mala effugiatis.' haec ubi dixit Allobroges in maxumam 4
spem adducti Umbrenum orare ut sui misereretur: nihil tam
asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissume
facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. ille 5
eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat
neque aliena consili propter Semproniam. nam tum Brutus
ab Roma aberat. praeterea Gabinium arcessit, quo maior 6
auctoritas sermoni inesset. eo praesente coniurationem aperit,
nominat socios, praeterea multos cuiusque generis, innoxios,
quo legatis animus amplior esset. deinde eos pollicitos
operam suam domum dimittit. **41.** sed Allobroges diu in

2 incerto habuere quidnam consili caperent. in altera parte
erat aes alienum studium belli magna merces in spe victoriae,
at in altera maiores opes tuta consilia pro incerta spe certa
3 praemia. haec illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna rei pub-
4 licae. itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrocinio civitas plu-
rumum utebatur, rem omnem uti cognoverant aperiunt.
5 Cicero per Sangam consilio cognito legatis praecepit ut
studium coniurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant,
bene polliceantur, dentque operam uti eos quam maxume
manufestos habeant.

42. Isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulte-
2 riore, item in agro Piceno Bruttio Apulia motus erat. namque
illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per
dementiam cuncta simul agebant. nocturnis consiliis, armo-
rum atque telorum portationibus, festinando agitando omnia
3 plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. ex eo numero con-
pluris Q. Metellus Celer praetor ex senatus consulto causa
cognita in vincula coniecerat, item in citeriore Gallia C. Mu-
rena, qui ei provinciae legatus praeerat.

43. At Romae Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes coniu-
rationis erant, paratis ut videbantur magnis copiis, consti-
tuerant uti, cum Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum exercitu
venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis contione habita quereretur
de actionibus Ciceronis bellique gravissumi invidiam optumo
consuli inponeret. eo signo proxuma nocte cetera multitudo
2 coniurationis suum quisque negotium exequeretur. sed ea
divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum
magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incen-
derent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque
quibus insidiae parabantur fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis ianuam
obsideret eumque vi aggrederetur, alius autem alium, sed filii
familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentes
interficerent, simul caede et incendio perculsis omnibus ad

Catilinam erumperent. inter haec parata atque decreta Ce- 3
thegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubi-
tando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates conrumpere,
facto non consulto in tali periculo opus esse seque, si pauci
adiuvarent, languentibus aliis impetum in curiam facturum.
natura ferox vehemens manu promptus erat, maxumum bonum 4
in celeritate putabat.

44. Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium
ceteros conveniunt. ab Lentulo Cethego Statilio item Cassio
postulant ius iurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant:
aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium inpelli posse.
ceteri nihil suspicantes dant, Cassius semet eo brevi venturum 2
pollicetur ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Len- 3
tulus cum eis T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem mittit,
ut Allobroges prius quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina
data atque accepta fide societatem confirmarent. ipse Vol- 4
turcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra
scriptum est. 'Quis sim ex eo quem ad te misi cognosces. 5
fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum
esse. consideres quid tuae rationes postulent. auxilium petas
ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.' ad hoc mandata verbis dat: 6
cum ab senatu hostis iudicatus sit, quo consilio servitia re-
pudiet? in urbe parata esse quae iusserit. ne cunctetur ipse
propius adcedere. **45.** his rebus ita actis, constituta nocte
qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus
L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat ut in
ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehen-
dant. rem omnem aperit, cuius gratia mittebantur, cetera,
uti facto opus sit, ita agant permittit. illi, homines militares, 2
sine tumultu praesidiis conlocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat,
occulte pontem obsidunt. postquam ad id loci legati cum 3
Volturcio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor exortus est,
Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora praetoribus se tradunt,

4 Volturcius primo cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine
defendit, deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de
salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, pos-
tremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetori-
bus dedit.

46. Quibus rebus confectis omnia propere per nuntios
2 consuli declarantur. at illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul
occupavere. nam laetabatur intellegens coniuratione pate-
facta civitatem periculis ereptam esse, porro autem anxius
erat, dubitans in maxumo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis
quid facto opus esset: poenam illorum sibi oneri, inpunitatem
3 perdundae rei publicae fore credebat. igitur confirmato animo
vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum Cethegum Statilium Gabinium
itemque Caeparium Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad con-
4 citanda servitia proficisci parabat. ceteri sine mora veniunt,
Caeparius paulo ante domo egressus cognito indicio ex urbe
5 profugerat. consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu
tenens [in senatum] perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in
6 aedem Concordiae venire iubet. eo senatum advocat mag-
naque frequentia eius ordinis Volturcium cum legatis intro-
ducit, Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis
acceperat, eodem adferre iubet. **47.** Volturcius interrogatus
de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consili
habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de coniuratione;
post ubi fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia uti gesta erant
aperit docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario
socium adscitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos, tantum
modo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium Ser. Sullam
L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea coniuratione esse.
2 eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt
praeter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat, ex
libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi;
Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret

urbis potiri. praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vige-
sumum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respond-
issent bello civili cruentum fore. igitur perlectis litteris, cum 3
prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit uti
abdicato magistratu Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis cus-
todiis habeantur. itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui 4
tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio Statilius C. Caesari
Gabinius M. Crasso Caeparius—nam is paulo ante ex fuga
retractus erat—Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

48. Interea plebs coniuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida
rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae
consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad caelum tollere: veluti ex
servitute erepta gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat. namque 2
alia belli facinora praedae magis quam detrimento fore, in-
cendium vero crudele inmoderatum ac sibi maxume calami-
tosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copiae in usu cotidiano et
cultu corporis erant.

Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus 3
erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum
aiebant. is cum se diceret indicaturum de coniuratione, si 4
fides publica data esset, iussus a consule quae sciret edicere,
eadem fere quae Volturcius de paratis incendiis de caede
bonorum de itinere hostium senatum docet; praeterea se
missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret ne eum Lentulus
et Cethegus aliique ex coniuratione deprehensi terrerent,
eoque magis properaret ad urbem adcedere, quo et ceterorum
animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. sed 5
ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, max-
umis divitiis summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars
tametsi verum existumabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta
vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, ple-
rique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii conclamant indicem
falsum esse deque ea re postulant uti referatur. itaque con- 6

sulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit, Tarquini indicium
falsum videri eumque in vinculis retinendum neque amplius
potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cuius consilio
7 tantam rem esset mentitus. erant eo tempore qui existu-
marent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius
appellato Crasso per societatem periculi reliquos illius po-
8 tentia tegeret. alii Tarquinium a Cicerone inmissum aiebant,
ne Crassus more suo suscepto malorum patrocinio rem pub-
9 licam conturbaret. ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem
audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone inpositam.

49. Sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque
pretio neque gratia Ciceronem inpellere potuere, uti per Allo-
2 broges aut alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur. nam
uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant: Piso oppug-
natus in iudicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter cuiusdam
transpadani supplicium iniustum, Catulus ex petitione pontifi-
catus odio incensus, quod extrema aetate, maxumis honoribus
3 usus, ab adulescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. res autem
opportuna videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate,
publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat.
4 sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus inpellere nequeunt, ipsi
singillatim circumeundo atque ementiundo quae se ex Vol-
turcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam
conflaverant, usque eo ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui
praesidi causa cum telis erant circum aedem Concordiae,
seu periculi magnitudine seu animi mobilitate inpulsi, quo
studium suum in rem publicam clarius esset, egredienti ex
senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.

50. Dum haec in senatu aguntur et dum legatis Allobrogum et T. Volturcio, conprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli divorsis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiundum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui

pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem 2
per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos lectos et exercitatos
orabat [in audaciam] ut grege facto cum telis ad sese in-
rumperent. consul ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis prae- 3
sidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert
quid de eis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. sed
eos paulo ante frequens senatus iudicaverat contra rem pub-
licam fecisse. tum D. Iunius Silanus primus sententiam 4
rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de eis qui
in custodiis tenebantur et praeterea de L. Cassio P. Furio P.
Umbreno Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumun-
dum decreverat isque postea permotus oratione C. Caesaris
pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixerat, quod de
ea re praesidiis additis referundum censuerat. sed Caesar, 5
ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule huius-
cemodi verba locutus est.

51. ‘Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis
consultant, ab odio amicitia ira atque misericordia vacuos
esse decet. haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa 2
officiunt, neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et usui
paruit. ubi intenderis ingenium, valet: si lubido possidet, ea 3
dominatur, animus nihil valet. magna mihi copia est memo- 4
randi, patres conscripti, qui reges atque populi ira aut miseri-
cordia inpulsi male consuluerint. sed ea malo dicere, quae
maiores nostri contra lubidinem animi sui recte atque ordine
fecere. bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, 5
Rhodiorum civitas magna atque magnifica, quae populi Ro-
mani opibus creverat, infida atque advorsa nobis fuit. sed
postquam bello confecto de Rhodiis consultum est, maiores
nostri, nequis divitiarum magis quam iniuriae causa bellum
inceptum diceret, inpunitos eos dimisere. item bellis Punicis 6
omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginienses et in pace et per indutias
multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occa-

sionem talia fecere: magis quid se dignum foret quam quid
7 in illos iure fieri posset quaerebant. hoc item vobis provi-
dendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat
P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vostra dignitas, neu
8 magis irae vostrae quam famae consulatis. nam si digna
poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novom consilium adprobo:
sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exuperat, eis utendum
9 censeo quae legibus conparata sunt. plerique eorum, qui
ante me sententias dixerunt, composite atque magnifice ca-
sum rei publicae miserati sunt. quae belli saevitia esset, quae
victis acciderent, enumeravere; rapi virgines pueros, divelli
liberos a parentum complexu, matres familiarum pati quae
victoribus conlubuisset, fana atque domos spoliari, caedem
incendia fieri, postremo armis cadaveribus cruore atque luctu
10 omnia compleri. sed, per deos inmortalis, quo illa oratio
pertinuit? an uti vos infestos coniurationi faceret? scilicet
quem res tanta et tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio ac-
11 cendet. non ita est, neque cuiquam mortalium iniuriae suae
12 parvae videntur: multi eas gravius aequo habuere. sed alia
aliis licentia est, patres conscripti. qui demissi in obscuro
vitam habent, siquid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt, fama
atque fortuna eorum pares sunt: qui magno imperio praediti
in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere.
13 ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est. neque studere
14 neque odisse, sed minume irasci decet. quae apud alios
iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas
15 appellatur. equidem ego sic existumo, patres conscripti,
omnis cruciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse. sed
plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus inpiis
sceleris eorum obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paulo saevior
16 fuit. D. Silanum virum fortem atque strenuum certo scio
quae dixerit studio rei publicae dixisse neque illum in tanta
re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere: eos mores eamque mo-

destiam viri cognovi. verum sententia eius mihi non crudelis 17
—quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest?—sed aliena
a re publica nostra videtur. nam profecto aut metus aut 18
iniuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum genus poenae
novom decernere. de timore supervacuaneum est disserere, 19
cum praesertim diligentia clarissumi viri consulis tanta prae-
sidia sint in armis. de poena possum equidem dicere id quod 20
res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem
non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere,
ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. sed, per deos 21
inmortalis, quam ob rem in sententiam non addidisti, uti
prius verberibus in eos animadvorteretur? an quia lex Porcia 22
vetat? at aliae leges item condemnatis civibus non animam
eripi sed exilium permitti iubent. an quia gravius est ver- 23
berari quam necari? quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est
in homines tanti facinoris convictos? sin quia levius est, qui 24
convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in maiore
neglegeris? at enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas rei 25
publicae decretum erit? tempus dies fortuna, cuius lubido
gentibus moderatur. illis merito accidet quidquid evenerit.
ceterum vos, patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis con- 26
siderate. omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta sunt. 27
sed ubi imperium ad ignaros [eius] aut minus bonos pervenit,
novom illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et
non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii devictis Atheniensibus 28
triginta viros inposuere, qui rem publicam eorum tractarent.
ei primo coepere pessumum quemque et omnibus invisum in- 29
demnatum necare. ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri.
post ubi paulatim licentia crevit, iuxta bonos et malos lubi- 30
dinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere: ita civitas servitute 31
obpressa stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. nostra memoria 32
victor Sulla cum Damasippum et alios eiusmodi, qui malo rei
publicae creverant, iugulari iussit, quis non factum eius lauda-

bat? homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem
33 publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. sed ea res
magnae initium cladis fuit. nam uti quisque domum aut
villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicuius concupiverat,
34 dabat operam ut is in proscriptorum numero esset. ita illi,
quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi trahe-
bantur, neque prius finis iugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnis
35 suos divitiis explevit. atque ego haec non in M. Tullio
neque his temporibus vereor, sed in magna civitate multa et
36 varia ingenia sunt. potest alio tempore alio consule, cui item
exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi: ubi hoc
exemplo per senatus decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis
37 illi finem statuet aut quis moderabitur? maiores nostri,
patres conscripti, neque consili neque audaciae umquam
eguere, neque illis superbia obstabat quo minus aliena insti-
38 tuta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. arma atque tela
militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis
pleraque sumpserunt. postremo quod ubique apud socios
aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi ex-
39 equebantur, imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. sed eodem
illo tempore Graeciae morem imitati verberibus animadvorte-
bant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant.
40 postquam res publica adolevit et multitudine civium factiones
valuere, circumveniri innocentes, alia huiuscemodi fieri coe-
pere, tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus
41 legibus exilium damnatis permissum est. hanc ego causam,
patres conscripti, quo minus novom consilium capiamus in
42 primis magnam puto. profecto virtus atque sapientia maior
illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere quam
43 in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. placet igitur eos
dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae? minume. sed ita
censeo, publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis haben-
dos per municipia, quae maxume opibus valent, neu quis de

eis postea ad senatum referat neve cum populo agat: qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum.’

52. Postquam Caesar dicundi finem fecit, ceteri verbo alius alii varie adsentiebantur. at M. Porcius Cato rogatus sententiam huiuscemodi orationem habuit.

‘Longe mihi alia mens est, patres conscripti, cum res atque 2
pericula nostra considero et cum sententias nonnullorum
ipse mecum reputo. illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena 3
eorum, qui patriae parentibus aris atque focis suis bellum
paravere. res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam quid
in illos statuamus consultare. nam cetera malificia tum per- 4
sequare, ubi facta sunt, hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi
evenit, frustra iudicia inplores: capta urbe nihil fit reliqui
victis. sed, per deos inmortalis, vos ego appello, qui semper 5
domos villas signa tabulas vostras pluris quam rem publicam
fecistis: si ista cuiuscumque modi sunt quae amplexamini
retinere, si voluptatibus vostris otium praebere voltis, exper-
giscimini aliquando et capessite rem publicam. non agitur 6
de vectigalibus neque de sociorum iniuriis: libertas et anima
nostra in dubio est. saepe numero, patres conscripti, multa 7
verba in hoc ordine feci, saepe de luxuria atque avaritia
nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea causa
advorsos habeo: qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam 8
delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta
condonabam. sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen 9
res publica firma erat, opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat. nunc 10
vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus, neque
quantum aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit,
sed haec cuiuscumque modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum
una hostium futura sint. hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem 11
et misericordiam nominat. iam pridem equidem nos vera
vocabula rerum amisimus. quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas,

malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in
12 extremo sita est. sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent,
liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus
aerari; ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur et, dum paucis
13 sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. bene et com-
posite C. Caesar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte
disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea quae de inferis memo-
rantur, divorso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra inculta foeda
14 atque formidulosa habere. itaque censuit pecunias eorum
publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos, vide-
licet timens ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus coniurationis
15 aut a multitudine conducta per vim eripiantur. quasi vero
mali atque scelesti tantum modo in urbe et non per totam
Italiam sint, aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendun-
16 dum opes minores sunt. quare vanum equidem hoc con-
silium est, si periculum ex illis metuit: sin in tanto omnium
metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis
17 timere. quare cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro
certo habetote vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus
18 coniuratis decernere. quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto
illis animus infirmior erit: si paululum modo vos languere
19 viderint, iam omnes feroces aderunt. nolite existumare,
maiores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam
20 fecisse. si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos
haberemus, quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum
21 atque equorum maior copia nobis quam illis est. sed alia
fuere quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt, domi
industria foris iustum imperium, animus in consulundo liber
22 neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. pro his nos habemus
luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem privatim opulen-
tiam. laudamus divitias sequimur inertiam. inter bonos et
malos discrimen nullum, omnia virtutis praemia ambitio pos-
23 sidet. neque mirum. ubi vos separatim sibi quisque con-

silium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae
servitis, eo fit ut impetus fiat in vacuam rem publicam. sed
ego haec omitto. coniuravere nobilissumi cives patriam in- 24
cendere, Gallorum gentem infestissumam nomini Romano ad
bellum arcessunt. dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput
est. vos cunctamini etiam nunc et dubitatis, quid intra 25
moenia deprensis hostibus faciatis? misereamini censeo— 26
deliquere homines adulescentuli per ambitionem—atque etiam
armatos dimittatis; ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, 27
si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam convortat. scilicet res ipsa 28
aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. immo vero maxume.
sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium expectantes cuncta-
mini, videlicet dis inmortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam
saepe in maxumis periculis servavere. non votis neque sup- 29
pliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando agundo
bene consulundo prospera omnia cedunt. ubi socordiae te
atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos inplores: irati
infestique sunt. apud maiores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus 30
bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem
pugnaverat, necari iussit, atque ille egregius adulescens in- 31
moderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit. vos de crudelis- 32
sumis parricidis quid statuatis cunctamini? videlicet cetera
vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, 33
si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus umquam
ullis pepercit. ignoscite Cethegi adulescentiae, nisi iterum
patriae bellum fecit. nam quid ego de Gabinio Statilio 34
Caepario loquar? quibus si quicquam umquam pensi fuisset,
non ea consilia de re publica habuissent. postremo, patres 35
conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos
ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis. sed undique
circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget,
alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes, neque parari
neque consuli quicquam potest occulte: quo magis prope-

36 randum est. quare ego ita censeo: cum nefario consilio
sceleratorum civium res publica in maxuma pericula venerit,
eique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum convicti
confessique sint caedem incendia aliaque se foeda atque
crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse, de confessis
sicuti de manufestis rerum capitalium more maiorum suppli-
cium sumundum.'

53. Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes itemque
senatus magna pars sententiam eius laudant, virtutem animi
ad caelum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant, Cato
clarus atque magnus habetur, senati decretum fit, sicuti ille
censuerat.

2 Sed mihi multa legenti multa audienti, quae populus
Romanus domi militiaeque mari atque terra praeclara faci-
nora fecit, forte lubuit adtendere, quae res maxume tanta
3 negotia sustinuisset. sciebam saepe numero parva manu
cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse. cognoveram
parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus, ad hoc saepe
fortunae violentiam toleravisse, facundia Graecos gloria belli
4 Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. ac mihi multa agitanti con-
stabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse
eoque factum uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas
5 superaret. sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas conrupta
est, rursus res publica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque
magistratuum vitia sustentabat ac, sicuti effeta parente, multis
tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus
6 fuit. sed memoria mea ingenti virtute divorsis moribus fuere
viri duo M. Cato et C. Caesar: quos quoniam res obtulerat,
silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam
et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem. **54.** igitur eis
genus aetas eloquentia prope aequalia fuere, magnitudo animi
2 par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Caesar benificiis ac munifi-
centia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato. ille man-

suetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas digni-
tatem addiderat. Caesar dando sublevando ignoscundo, Cato 3
nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. in altero miseris per-
fugium erat, in altero malis pernicies. illius facilitas, huius
constantia laudabatur. postremo Caesar in animum indux- 4
erat laborare, vigilare, negotiis amicorum intentus sua negle-
gere, nihil denegare quod dono dignum esset, sibi magnum
imperium exercitum bellum novom exoptabat, ubi virtus
enitescere posset. at Catoni studium modestiae decoris, sed 5
maxume severitatis erat. non divitiis cum divite neque fac- 6
tione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute cum modesto
pudore cum innocente abstinentia certabat, esse quam videri
bonus malebat: ita quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis
illum sequebatur.

55. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam dis-
cessit, consul optumum factu ratus noctem quae instabat
antecapere, nequid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros quae [ad]
supplicium postulabat parare iubet, ipse praesidiis dispositis 2
Lentulum in carcerem deducit. idem fit ceteris per praetores.
est in carcere locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum 3
ascenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi de-
pressus. eum muniunt undique parietes atque insuper camera 4
lapideis fornicibus iuncta, sed incultu tenebris odore foeda
atque terribilis eius facies est. in eum locum postquam de- 5
missus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, quibus prae-
ceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. ita ille patricius ex gente 6
clarissuma Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae
habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitae invenit.
de Cethego Statilio Gabinio Caepario eodem modo suppli-
cium sumptum est.

56. Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam
et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, 2
cohortis pro numero militum complet, deinde, ut quisque

voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, aequaliter distri-
buerat, ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat,
3 cum initio non amplius duobus milibus habuisset. sed ex
omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis in-
structa, ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut
4 lanceas, alii praeacutas sudis portabant. sed postquam An-
tonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter
facere, modo ad urbem modo in Galliam vorsus castra
movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare: sperabat
propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii
5 incepta patravissent. interea servitia repudiabat, cuius initio
ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus coniurationis
fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existumans videri causam
civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse. **57.** sed postquam
in castra nuntius pervenit Romae coniurationem patefactam,
de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque, quos supra memoravi,
supplicium sumptum, plerique, quod ad bellum spes rapinarum
aut novarum rerum studium inlexerat, dilabuntur, reliquos
Catilina per montis asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pisto-
riensem abducit eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte per-
2 fugeret in Galliam transalpinam. at Q. Metellus Celer cum
tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate
rerum eadem illa existumans, quae supra diximus Catilinam
3 agitare. igitur ubi iter eius ex perfugis cognovit, castra
propere movit ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua
4 illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. neque tamen
Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis
5 aequioribus expeditus [in fuga] sequeretur. sed Catilina
postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum,
in urbe res advorsas, neque fugae neque praesidi ullam spem,
optumum factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli temptare,
6 statuit cum Antonio quam primum confligere. itaque con-
tione advocata huiuscemodi orationem habuit.

58. 'Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non
addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum neque fortem ex timido
exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. quanta cuiusque animo 2
audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet.
quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequiquam hor-
tere: timor animi auribus officit. sed ego vos, quo pauca 3
monerem, advocavi, simul uti causam mei consili aperirem.
scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quan- 4
tam ipsi nobisque cladem attulerit quoque modo, dum ex
urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim.
nunc vero quo loco res nostrae sint, iuxta mecum omnes 5
intellegitis. exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe alter a 6
Gallia obstant. diutius in his locis esse, si maxume animus
ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. quo- 7
cumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. qua propter 8
vos moneo uti forti atque parato animo sitis et, cum proelium
inibitis, memineritis vos divitias decus gloriam, praeterea
libertatem atque patriam in dextris vostris portare. si vin- 9
cimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde, muni-
cipia atque coloniae patebunt: si metu cesserimus, eadem
illa advorsa fient, neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget 10
quem arma non texerint. praeterea, milites, non eadem 11
nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria pro
libertate pro vita certamus, illis supervacuaneum est pro
potentia paucorum pugnare. quo audacius adgrediamini me- 12
mores pristinae virtutis. licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine 13
in exilio aetatem agere, potuistis nonnulli Romae amissis
bonis alienas opes expectare: quia illa foeda atque intoler- 14
anda viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. si haec relin- 15
quere voltis, audacia opus est: nemo nisi victor pace bellum
mutavit. nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quibus 16
corpus tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, ea vero dementia est.
semper in proelio eis maxumum est periculum, qui maxume 17

18 timent, audacia pro muro habetur. cum vos considero, milites,
et cum facta vostra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet.
19 animus aetas virtus vostra me hortantur, praeterea necessitudo,
20 quae etiam timidos fortis facit. nam multitudo hostium ne cir-
21 cumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. quodsi virtuti vos-
trae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis, neu capti
potius sicuti pecora trucidemini quam virorum more pugnantes
cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis.'

59. Haec ubi dixit, paululum conmoratus signa canere iubet
atque instructos ordines in locum aequom deducit. dein re-
motis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato periculo animus
amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit.
2 nam uti planities erat inter sinistros montis et ab dextera rupe
aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit, reliquarum signa in
3 subsidio artius conlocat. ab eis centuriones omnis, lectos et
evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque
armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra,
Faesulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare iubet. ipse cum
libertis et calonibus propter aquilam adsistit, quam bello Cim-
4 brico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. at ex altera
parte C. Antonius pedibus aeger, quod proelio adesse nequibat,
5 M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. ille cohortis veteranas,
quas tumultus causa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum
exercitum in subsidiis locat. ipse equo circumiens unum
quemque nominans appellat hortatur, rogat ut meminerint se
contra latrones inermis pro patria pro liberis pro aris atque
6 focis suis certare. homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta
tribunus aut praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna
gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia
noverat: ea conmemorando militum animos accendebat.

60. Sed ubi omnibus rebus exploratis Petreius tuba signum
dat, cohortis paulatim incedere iubet. idem facit hostium
2 exercitus. postquam eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis proe-

lium conmitti posset, maxumo clamore cum infestis signis
concurrunt: pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. veterani pris- 3
tinae virtutis memores comminus acriter instare, illi haud
timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. interea Catilina cum 4
expeditis in prima acie vorsari, laborantibus succurrere, in-
tegros pro sauciis arcessere, omnia providere, multum ipse
pugnare, saepe hostem ferire: strenui militis et boni impera-
toris officia simul exequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam 5
contra ac ratus erat magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam
in medios hostis inducit eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi
resistentis interficit. deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros ag-
greditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. 6
Catilina postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum 7
videt, memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis in con-
fertissumos hostis incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur.

61. Sed confecto proelio tum vero cerneres, quanta audacia
quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. nam fere 2
quem quisque vivos pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa 3
anima corpore tegebat. pauci autem, quos medios cohors
praetoria disiecerat, paulo divorsius sed omnes tamen ad-
vorsis volneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis 4
inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans
ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivos, in voltu retinens.
postremo ex omni copia neque in proelio neque in fuga 5
quisquam civis ingenuus captus est: ita cuncti suae hostium- 6
que vitae iuxta pepercerant. neque tamen exercitus populi 7
Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat. nam
strenuissumus quisque aut occiderat in proelio aut graviter
volneratus discesserat. multi autem, qui e castris visundi aut 8
spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera
amicum alii pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiebant; fuere
item qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. ita varie per omnem 9
exercitum laetitia maeror luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

DE BELLO IUGURTHINO

LIBER

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

DE BELLO IUGURTHINO

LIBER.

1. FALSO queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod inbe-
2 cilla atque aevi brevis forte potius quam virtute regatur. nam
contra reputando neque maius aliud neque praestabilius inve-
nias magisque naturae industriam hominum quam vim aut
3 tempus deesse. sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium
animus est. qui ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde
pollens potensque et clarus est neque fortuna eget, quippe
probitatem industriam aliasque artis bonas neque dare neque
4 eripere cuiquam potest. sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad
inertiam et voluptates corporis pessum datus est, perniciosa
lubidine paulisper usus, ubi per socordiam vires tempus
ingenium diffluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur: suam
5 quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. quodsi
hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio
aliena ac nihil profutura multaque etiam periculosa petunt,
neque regerentur magis quam regerent casus et eo magni-
tudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent.
2. nam uti genus hominum conpositum ex corpore et anima
est, ita res cunctae studiaque omnia nostra corporis alia alia
2 animi naturam secuntur. igitur praeclara facies, magnae
divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis et alia omnia huiuscemodi brevi
dilabuntur, at ingeni egregia facinora sicuti anima inmortalia
3 sunt. postremo corporis et fortunae bonorum ut initium sic

finis est omniaque orta occidunt et aucta senescunt: animus
inconruptus aeternus rector humani generis agit atque habet
cuncta neque ipse habetur. quo magis pravitas eorum admi- **4**
randa est, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum et ignaviam
aetatem agunt, ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius neque
amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque socordia
torpescere sinunt, cum praesertim tam multae variaeque sint
artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

3. Verum ex eis magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura
rerum publicarum minume mihi hac tempestate cupiunda
videntur, quoniam neque virtuti honos datur, neque illi, quibus
per fraudem [iis] fuit, tuti aut eo magis honesti sunt. nam **2**
vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes, quamquam et possis
et delicta corrigas, tamen inportunum est, cum praesertim
omnes rerum mutationes caedem fugam aliaque hostilia
portendant. frustra autem niti neque aliud se fatigando nisi **3**
odium quaerere, extremae dementiae est. nisi forte quem
inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet potentiae paucorum decus
atque libertatem suam gratificari.

4. Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quae ingenio exercentur, in
primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum. cuius de **2**
virtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto, simul ne per
insolentiam quis existumet memet studium meum laudando
extollere. atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a re **3**
publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen
inertiae inponant, certe quibus maxuma industria videtur
salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quaerere. qui si repu- **4**
taverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sim et
quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint et postea quae genera
hominum in senatum pervenerint, profecto existumabunt me
magis merito quam ignavia iudicium animi mei mutavisse
maiusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis
rei publicae venturum. nam saepe ego audivi Q. Maxumum **5**

P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros
solitos ita dicere, cum maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehe-
6 mentissume sibi animum ad virtutem accendi. scilicet non
ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere, sed
memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in
pectore crescere neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam
7 atque gloriam adaequaverit. at contra quis est omnium eis
moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque
industria cum maioribus suis contendat? etiam homines
novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire,
furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia
8 et honores nituntur: proinde quasi praetura et consulatus
atque alia omnia huiuscemodi per se ipsa clara et magnifica
sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui ea sustinent
9 virtus est. verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me
civitatis morum piget taedetque. nunc ad inceptum redeo.

5. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Iu-
gurtha rege Numidarum gessit, primum quia magnum et atrox
variaque victoria fuit, dehinc quia tunc primum superbiae
2 nobilitatis obviam itum est. quae contentio divina et humana
cuncta permiscuit eoque vecordiae processit, ut studiis civi-
3 libus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. sed prius-
quam huiuscemodi rei initium expedio pauca supra repetam,
quod ad cognoscundum omnia inlustria magis magisque in
aperto sint.

4 Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal
post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes maxume
adtriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum in amicitiam receptus a
P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit,
multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat. ob quae
victis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, cuius in Africa
magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus quas-
5 cumque urbis et agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. igitur

amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit.
sed imperi vitaeque eius finis idem fuit. dein Micipsa filius 6
regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo
absumptis. is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit 7
Iugurthamque filium Mastanabalis fratris, quem Masinissa,
quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum dereliquerat, eodem
cultu quo liberos suos domi habuit.

6. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus decora facie sed
multo maxume ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae
conrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare
iaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et cum omnis gloria
anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora
in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in
primis ferire, plurumum facere minumum ipse de se loqui.
quibus rebus Micipsa, tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans 2
virtutem Iugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen postquam
hominem adulescentem exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis
magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio
permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. terrebat eum 3
natura mortalium avida imperi et praeceps ad explendam
animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suae liberorumque
aetatis, quae etiam mediocris viros spe praedae transvorsos
agit; ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham accensa, ex
quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut
bellum oriretur anxius erat. **7.** his difficultatibus circumventus
ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem
tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Iugurtha manu promptus
et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum obiectare periculis et
eo modo fortunam temptare. igitur bello Numantino Micipsa, 2
cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret,
sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium saevitia facile
eum occasurum, praefecit Numidis, quos in Hispaniam
mittebat. sed ea res longe aliter ac ratus erat evenit. 3

4 nam Iugurtha, ut erat inpigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam
P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem
hostium cognovit, multo labore multaque cura, praeterea
modestissume parendo et saepe obviam eundo periculis in
tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer
5 carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori esset. ac sane, quod
difficillumum in primis est, et proelio strenuus erat et bonus
consilio, quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex
6 audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. igitur imperator
omnis fere res asperas per Iugurtham agere, in amicis habere,
magis magisque eum in dies amplecti, quippe cuius neque
7 consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. huc adcedebat
munificentia animi et ingeni sollertia, quis rebus sibi multos
ex Romanis familiari amicitia coniunxerat.

8. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere conplures novi
atque nobiles, quibus divitiae bono honestoque potiores erant,
factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti,
qui Iugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando ac-
cendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore uti solus imperi
Numidiae potiretur: in ipso maxumam virtutem, Romae
2 omnia venalia esse. sed postquam Numantia deleta P. Scipio
dimittere auxilia et ipse revorti domum decrevit, donatum
atque laudatum magnifice pro contione Iugurtham in prae-
torium abduxit ibique secreto monuit, ut potius publice quam
privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret neu quibus largiri
insuesceret: periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset.
si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et
regnum venturum, sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum
pecunia praecipitem casurum. **9.** sic locutus cum litteris eum,
quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit. earum sententia haec erat.
2 'Iugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit,
quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse. nobis ob merita sua
carus est: ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit, summa ope

nitemur. tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. en habes
virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa.' igitur rex ubi ea, 3
quae fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit,
cum virtute tum gratia viri permotus flexit animum suum et
Iugurtham benificiis vincere aggressus est, statimque eum
adoptavit et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit.
sed ipse paucos post annos morbo atque aetate confectus cum 4
sibi finem vitae adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis
itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis dicitur huiuscemodi
verba cum Iugurtha habuisse.

10. 'Parvom ego, Iugurtha, te amisso patre sine spe sine opi-
bus in regnum meum accepi, existumans non minus me tibi
quam liberis, si genuissem, ob benificia carum fore. neque
ea res falsum me habuit. nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua 2
omittam, novissume rediens Numantia meque regnumque
meum gloria honoravisti tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex
amicis amicissumos fecisti. in Hispania nomen familiae
renovatum est. postremo, quod difficillumum inter mortalis
est, gloria invidiam vicisti. nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem 3
vitae facit, per hanc dexteram, per regni fidem moneo ob-
testorque te, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, benificio meo
fratres sunt, caros habeas, neu malis alienos adiungere quam
sanguine coniunctos retinere. non exercitus neque thesauri 4
praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere
neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. quis 5
autem amicior quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum
invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? equidem ego vobis regnum 6
trado firmum, si boni eritis, sin mali, inbecillum. nam
concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae dilabuntur.
ceterum ante hos te, Iugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, 7
ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. nam in omni certa-
mine qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit iniuriam, tamen quia
plus potest, facere videtur. vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, 8

colite observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar quam genuisse.'

11. Ad ea Iugurtha tametsi regem ficta locutum intellegebat
et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne
2 respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. postquam
illi more regio iusta magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum
3 convenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. sed
Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, natura ferox et iam antea
ignobilitatem Iugurthae, quia materno genere inpar erat,
despiciens, dextra Adherbalem adsedit, ne medius ex tribus,
4 quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Iugurtha foret. dein
tamen ut aetati concederet fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem
5 alteram transductus est. ibi cum multa de administrando
imperio dissererent, Iugurtha inter alias res iacit, oportere
quinquenni consulta et decreta omnia rescindi: nam per ea
tempora confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse.
6 tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi respondit: nam ipsum illum
7 tribus proxumis annis adoptatione in regnum pervenisse. quod
verbum in pectus Iugurthae altius quam quisquam ratus erat
8 descendit. itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri
parare atque ea modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal
9 per dolum caperetur. quae ubi tardius procedunt neque
lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

12. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros finisque
2 imperi singulis constitui. itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. reguli interea in
3 loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere. sed Hiempsal
in oppido Thirmida forte eius domo utebatur, qui proxumus lictor Iugurthae carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat. quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat inpellitque, uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum clavis adulterinas

paret—nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur—ceterum, ubi
res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida 4
mandata brevi conficit atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Iugurthae
milites introducit. qui postquam in aedis inrupere, divorsi 5
regem quaerere, dormientis alios alios occursantis interficere,
scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu
omnia miscere, cum interim Hiempsal reperitur occultans
se tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci
perfugerat. Numidae caput eius, uti iussi erant, ad Iugurtham
referunt.

13. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi
divolgatur. Adherbalem omnisque, qui sub imperio Micipsae
fuerant, metus invadit. in duas partis discedunt Numidae:
plures Adherbalem secuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores.
igitur Iugurtha quam maxumas potest copias armat, urbis 2
partim vi alias voluntate imperio suo adiungit, omni Numidiae
imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, 3
qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis, tamen
fretus multitudine militum parabat armis contendere. sed ubi 4
res ad certamen venit, victus ex proelio profugit in provinciam
ac deinde Romam contendit. tum Iugurtha patratis con- 5
siliis, postquam omnis Numidiae potiebatur, in otio facinus
suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum neque
advorsus iram eius usquam nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pe-
cunia sua spem habere. itaque paucis diebus cum auro et 6
argento multo Romam legatos mittit, quis praecipit, primum
uti veteres amicos muneribus expleant, deinde novos ad-
quirant, postremo quaecumque possint largiundo parare ne
cunctentur. sed ubi Romam legati venere et ex praecepto 7
regis hospitibus aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu
auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere, tanta conmutatio
incessit, ut ex maxuma invidia in gratiam et favorem nobili-
tatis Iugurtha veniret. quorum pars spe alii praemio inducti 8

singulos ex senatu ambiundo nitebantur, ne gravius in eum
9 consuleretur. igitur ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto
senatus utrisque datur. tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum
accepimus.

14. 'Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi
praecepit, uti regni Numidiae tantum modo procurationem
existumarem meam, ceterum ius et imperium eius penes vos
esse; simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maxumo usui esse
populo Romano, vos mihi cognatorum, vos adfinium loco
ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vostra amicitia exercitum divitias
2 munimenta regni me habiturum. quae cum praecepta pa-
rentis mei agitarem, Iugurtha, homo omnium quos terra
sustinet sceleratissumus, contempto imperio vostro Masinissae
me nepotem et iam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi
3 Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. atque ego, patres
conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem
potius ob mea quam ob maiorum meorum benificia possem
a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxume deberi mihi benificia
a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si
4 desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. sed quoniam parum
tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit
Iugurtha qualis foret, ad vos confugi, patres conscripti, qui-
bus, quod mihi miserrumum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui
5 esse. ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti
sunt aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vostram adpetiverunt.
familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi ami-
citiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides eius quam fortuna
6 petunda erat. quorum progeniem vos, patres conscripti,
nolite pati me nepotem Masinissae frustra a vobis auxilium
7 petere. si ad impetrandum nihil causae haberem praeter mi-
serandam fortunam, quod paulo ante rex genere fama atque
copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis inops, alienas opes
expecto, tamen erat maiestatis populi Romani prohibere in-

iuriam neque pati cuiusquam regnum per scelus crescere.
verum ego eis finibus eiectus sum, quos maioribus meis 8
populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et avos meus una vobis-
cum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginiensis. vostra benificia
mihi erepta sunt, patres conscripti, vos in mea iniuria despecti
estis. eheu me miserum! hucine, Micipsa pater, benificia 9
tua evasere ut, quem tu parem cum liberis tuis regnique
participem fecisti, is potissumum stirpis tuae extinctor sit?
numquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in 10
sanguine ferro fuga vorsabitur? dum Carthaginienses in-
columes fuere, iure omnia saeva patiebamur: hostes ab latere,
vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. postquam illa
pestis ex Africa eiecta est, laeti pacem agitabamus, quippe
quis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem vos iussissetis. ecce 11
autem ex inproviso Iugurtha, intoleranda audacia scelere
atque superbia sese ecferens, fratre meo atque eodem pro-
pinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum eius sceleris sui prae-
dam fecit, post, ubi me eisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil
minus quam vim aut bellum expectantem in imperio vostro,
sicut videtis, extorrem patria domo, inopem et coopertum
miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius quam in meo regno essem.
ego sic existumabam, patres conscripti, uti praedicantem 12
audiveram patrem meum: qui vostram amicitiam diligenter
colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus
maxume tutos esse. quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit, 13
uti in omnibus bellis adesset vobis: nos uti per otium tuti
simus, in vostra manu est, patres conscripti. pater nos duos 14
fratres reliquit, tertium Iugurtham benificiis suis ratus est
coniunctum nobis fore. alter eorum necatus est, alterius ipse
ego manus inpias vix effugi. quid agam? aut quo potis- 15
sumum infelix adcedam? generis praesidia omnia extincta
sunt. pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit. fratri, quem
minume decuit, propincus per scelus vitam eripuit. adfinis

amicos propinquos ceteros meos alium alia clades obpressit:
capti ab Iugurtha pars in crucem acti pars bestiis obiecti
sunt, pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris cum
16 maerore et luctu morte graviorem vitam exigunt. si omnia,
quae aut amisi aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia
manerent, tamen, siquid ex inproviso mali accidisset, vos
inplorarem, patres conscripti, quibus pro magnitudine imperi
17 ius et iniurias omnis curae esse decet. nunc vero exul patria
domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens quo
adcedam aut quos appellem? nationesne an reges, qui omnes
familiae nostrae ob vostram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quo-
quam mihi adire licet, ubi non maiorum meorum hostilia
monumenta pluruma sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri
18 potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? postremo Masinissa
nos ita instituit, patres conscripti, nequem coleremus nisi
populum Romanum, ne societates neu foedera nova accipe-
remus, abunde magna praesidia nobis in vostra amicitia fore:
si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidundum nobis
19 esse. virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti, omnia
secunda et oboedientia sunt; quo facilius sociorum iniurias
20 curare licet. tantum illud vereor, nequos privata amicitia
Iugurthae parum cognita transvorsos agat, quos ego audio
maxuma ope niti ambire fatigare vos singulos, nequid de
absente incognita causa statuatis, fingere me verba et fugam
21 simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. quod utinam illum,
cuius inpio facinore in has miserias proiectus sum, eadem
haec simulantem videam, et aliquando aut apud vos aut apud
deos inmortalis rerum humanarum cura oriatur: ne ille, qui
nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus
malis excruciatus inpietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei
22 necis mearumque miseriarum gravis poenas reddat. iamiam
frater, animo meo carissume, quamquam tibi inmaturo et
unde minume decuit vita erepta est, tamen laetandum magis

quam dolendum puto casum tuum. non enim regnum sed 23
fugam exilium egestatem et omnis has quae me premunt
aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. at ego infelix, in tanta
mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spec-
taculum praebeo, incertus quid agam, tuasne iniurias per-
sequar ipse auxili egens an regno consulam, cuius vitae
necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. utinam emori 24
fortunis meis honestus exitus esset neu vivere contemptus
viderer, si defessus malis iniuriae concessissem. nunc neque
vivere lubet neque mori licet sine dedecore. patres con- 25
scripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentes vostros, per
maiestatem populi Romani, subvenite mihi misero, ite obviam
iniuriae, nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vostrum est, per
scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere.'

15. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Iugurthae
largitione magis quam causa freti paucis respondent. Hiemp-
salem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum, Adherbalem
ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri quod
iniuriam facere nequivisset: Iugurtham ab senatu petere ne
se alium putarent, ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba
inimici ante facta sua ponerent. deinde utrique curia egre- 2
diuntur. senatus statim consulitur. fautores legatorum, prae-
terea senatus magna pars gratia depravata Adherbalis dicta
contemnere, Iugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus: gratia
voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio
sua quasi pro gloria nitebantur. at contra pauci, quibus 3
bonum et aequom divitiis carius erat, subveniundum Adher-
bali et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant, sed 4
ex omnibus maxume Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis inpiger
factiosus avidus potentiae honoris divitiarum, ceterum vitia
sua callide occultans. is postquam videt regis largitionem 5
famosam inpudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne
polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubi-

dine continuit. **16**. vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quae vero
2 pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. decretum fit uti decem legati
regnum, quod Micipsa optinuerat, inter Iugurtham et Adher-
balem dividerent. cuius legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius,
homo clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul C. Graccho
et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis acerrume victoriam nobilitatis
3 in plebem exercuerat. eum Iugurtha tametsi Romae in
inimicis habuerat, tamen adcuratissume recepit, dando et
pollicendo multa perfecit, uti fama fide, postremo omnibus
4 suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. reliquos legatos
eadem via adgressus plerosque capit, paucis carior fides
5 quam pecunia fuit. in divisione quae pars Numidiae Mau-
retaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Iugurthae traditur,
illam alteram specie quam usu potiorem, quae portuosior et
aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

17. Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere
et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit,
2 attingere. sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperi-
tatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de eis haud
facile conpertum narraverim. cetera quam paucissumis ab-
solvam.

3 In divisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia Africam
posuere, pauci tantum modo Asiam et Europam esse, sed
4 Africam in Europa. ea finis habet ab occidente fretum
nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem,
5 quem locum Catabathmon incolae appellant. mare saevom
inportuosum, ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infe-
6 cundus, caelo terraque penuria aquarum. genus hominum
salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum. plerosque senectus
dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere: nam morbus haud
saepe quemquam superat. ad hoc malifici generis pluruma
7 animalia. sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique
postea adcesserint, aut quo modo inter se permixti sint, quam-

quam ab ea fama, quae plerosque optinet, divorsum est, tamen uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est utique rem sese habere cultores eius terrae putant, quam paucissumis dicam. ceterum fides eius rei penes auctores erit.

18. Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incul-
tique, quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum uti
pecoribus. ei neque moribus neque lege aut imperio cuius- 2
quam regebantur: vagi palantes quas nox coegerat sedes
habebant. sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri 3
putant, interiit, exercitus eius conpositus ex variis gentibus
amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium peten-
tibus brevi dilabitur. ex eo numero Medi Persae et Armenii, 4
navibus in Africam transvecti, proxumos nostro mari locos
occupavere, sed Persae intra Oceanum magis, eique alveos 5
navium invorsos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia
in agris neque ab Hispanis emundi aut mutandi copia erat:
mare magnum et ignara lingua commercio prohibebant. ei 6
paulatim per conubia Gaetulos secum miscuere et, quia 7
saepe temptantes agros alia deinde alia loca petiverant,
semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere. ceterum adhuc aedificia 8
Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga
incurvis lateribus tecta quasi navium carinae sunt. Medis 9
autem et Armeniis adcessere Libyes—nam ei propius mare
Africum agitabant, Gaetuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab
ardoribus—eique mature oppida habuere: nam freto divisi
ab Hispania mutare res inter se instituerant. nomen eorum 10
paulatim Libyes conrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis
appellantes. sed res Persarum brevi adolevit ac postea no- 11
mine Numidae propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi
possedere ea loca, quae proxuma Carthagine Numidia ap-
pellatur. deinde utrique alteris freti finitumos armis aut metu 12
sub imperium suum coegere, nomen gloriamque sibi ad-

didere, magis ei, qui ad nostrum mare processerant, quia
Libyes quam Gaetuli minus bellicosi. denique Africae pars
inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est, victi omnes in
gentem nomenque imperantium concessere. **19.** postea
Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars
imperi cupidine sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum
avidis, Hipponem Hadrumetum Leptim aliasque urbis in
ora marituma condidere eaeque brevi multum auctae pars
2 originibus suis praesidio aliae decori fuere. nam de Car-
thagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam
alio properare tempus monet.

3 Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa
dividit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Theraeon,
ac deinceps duae Syrtes interque eas Leptis, deinde Philae-
non arae, quem locum Aegyptum vorsus finem imperi
4 habuere Carthaginienses, post aliae Punicae urbes. cetera
loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidae tenent, proxumi His-
5 pania Mauri sunt. super Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus
6 partim in tuguriis alios incultius vagos agitare, post eos
7 Aethiopas esse, dehinc loca exusta solis ardoribus. igitur
bello Iugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida et finis Cartha-
giniensium, quos novissume habuerant, populus Romanus
per magistratus administrabat, Gaetulorum magna pars et
Numidae usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Iugurtha erant,
Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen
cetera ignarus populi Romani itemque nobis neque bello
8 neque pace antea cognitus. de Africa et eius incolis ad
necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

20. Postquam diviso regno legati Africa decessere et Iugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt, certum esse ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulo ante muneribus ex-

pleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. ipse acer 2
bellicosus, at is quem petebat quietus imbellis, placido ingenio,
opportunus iniuriae, metuens magis quam metuendus. igitur 3
ex inproviso finis eius cum magna manu invadit, multos
mortalis cum pecore atque alia praeda capit, aedificia in-
cendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu adcedit, deinde 4
cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convortit, existumans
Adherbalem dolore permotum iniurias suas manu vindicatu-
rum eamque rem belli causam fore. at ille, quod neque se 5
parem armis existumabat et amicitia populi Romani magis
quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Iugurtham de iniuriis
questum misit. qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta rettule-
rant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit quam bellum sumere,
quia temptatum antea secus cesserat. neque eo magis 6
cupido Iugurthae minuebatur, quippe qui totum eius reg-
num animo iam invaserat. itaque non uti antea cum 7
praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu conparato bellum
gerere coepit et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere.
ceterum qua pergebat urbis agros vastare, praedas agere, 8
suis animum hostibus terrorem augere. **21.** Adherbal ubi
intellegit eo processum, uti regnum aut relincundum esset
aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat et Iugur-
thae obvius procedit. interim haud longe a mari prope 2
Cirtam oppidum utriusque exercitus consedit et quia diei
extremum erat proelium non inceptum. sed ubi plerum-
que noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine milites
Iugurthini signo dato castra hostium invadunt, semisomnos
partim alios arma sumentis fugant funduntque. Adherbal
cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit et ni multitudo toga-
torum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentis moenibus prohibuit,
uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum
foret. igitur Iugurtha oppidum circumsedit, vineis turri- 3
busque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgre-

ditur, maxume festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos
ante proelium factum ab Adherbale Romam missos audi-
verat.
4 Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adules-
centes in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant, senatus
populique Romani verbis nuntient velle et censere eos ab
armis discedere, de controvorsiis suis iure potius quam bello
disceptare: ita seque illisque dignum esse. **22.** legati in
Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis quod Romae, dum
proficisci parant, de proelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae
2 audiebatur: sed is rumor clemens erat. quorum Iugurtha
accepta oratione respondit sibi neque maius quicquam neque
carius auctoritate senatus esse: ab adulescentia ita se enisum
ut ab optumo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitia P. Sci-
pioni summo viro placuisse; ob easdem artis a Micipsa non
3 penuria liberorum in regnum adoptatum esse. ceterum quo
plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum iniuriam
4 minus tolerare. Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum;
quod ubi conperisset, sceleri eius obviam isse. populum
Romanum neque recte neque pro bono facturum, si ab iure
gentium sese prohibuerit. postremo de omnibus rebus le-
gatos Romam brevi missurum. ita utrique digrediuntur.
5 Adherbalis appellandi copia non fuit. **23.** Iugurtha ubi eos
Africa decessisse ratus est, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam
armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat,
turris extruit easque praesidiis firmat, praeterea dies noctis-
que aut per vim aut dolis temptare, defensoribus moenium
praemia modo modo formidinem ostentare, suos hortando
2 ad virtutem arrigere, prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Ad-
herbal ubi intellegit omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas,
hostem infestum, auxili spem nullam, penuria rerum neces-
sariarum bellum non trahi posse, ex eis qui una Cirtam
profugerant duos maxume inpigros delegit. eos multa pol-

licendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat uti per hostium
munitiones noctu ad proxumum mare, dein Romam per-
gerent. **24.** Numidae paucis diebus iussa efficiunt. litterae
Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit.

'Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, patres con- 2
scripti, sed vis Iugurthae subigit, quem tanta lubido ex-
tinguendi me invasit, ut neque vos neque deos inmortalis
in animo habeat, sanguinem meum quam omnia malit. ita- 3
que quintum iam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani
armis obsessus teneor, neque mihi Micipsae patris mei
benificia neque vostra decreta auxiliantur; ferro an fame
acrius urgear incertus sum. plura de Iugurtha scribere 4
dehortatur me fortuna mea. etiam antea expertus sum
parum fidei miseris esse. nisi tamen intellego illum supra 5
quam ego sum petere neque simul amicitiam vostram et
regnum meum sperare. utrum gravius existumet, nemini
occultum est. nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem 6
meum, deinde patrio regno me expulit. quae sane fuerint
nostrae iniuriae, nihil ad vos. verum nunc vostrum reg- 7
num armis tenet, me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis po-
suistis, clausum obsidet: legatorum verba quanti fecerit, peri-
cula mea declarant. quid est reliquom nisi vis vostra, quo 8
moveri possit? nam ego quidem vellem et haec quae scribo 9
et illa quae antea in senatu questus sum vana forent potius
quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. sed quoniam eo 10
natus sum, ut Iugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non iam
mortem neque aerumnas, tantum modo inimici imperium et
cruciatus corporis deprecor. regno Numidiae, quod vostrum
est, uti lubet consulite: me manibus inpiis eripite, per maies-
tatem imperi, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria
remanet avi mei Masinissae.'

25. His litteris recitatis fuere, qui exercitum in Africam
mittundum censerent et quam primum Adherbali subveni-

undum, de Iugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam legatis
2 non paruisset. sed ab eisdem illis regis fautoribus summa
3 ope enisum est ne tale decretum fieret. ita bonum publicum,
4 ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. legan-
tur tamen in Africam maiores natu nobiles, amplis honoribus
usi. in quis fuit M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus,
5 consularis et tum senatus princeps. ei, quod res in invidia
erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere.
dein brevi Uticam adpulsi litteras ad Iugurtham mittunt,
quam ocissume ad provinciam adcedat seque ad eum ab
6 senatu missos. ille ubi accepit homines claros, quorum
auctoritatem Romae pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum
venisse, primo conmotus metu atque lubidine divorsus agita-
7 batur. timebat iram senatus, ni paruisset legatis: porro
8 animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebatur. vicit
9 tamen in avido ingenio pravom consilium. igitur exercitu
circumdato summa vi Cirtam inrumpere nititur, maxume
sperans, diducta manu hostium aut vi aut dolis sese casum
10 victoriae inventurum. quod ubi secus procedit neque quod
intenderat efficere potest, ut prius quam legatos conveniret
Adherbalis potiretur, ne amplius morando Scaurum quem
plurumum metuebat incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in pro-
11 vinciam venit. ac tametsi senati verbis graves minae nuntia-
bantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen
oratione consumpta legati frustra discessere. **26.** ea post-
quam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute moenia
defensabantur, confisi deditione facta propter magnitudinem
populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent uti
seque et oppidum Iugurthae tradat, tantum ab eo vitam
2 paciscatur, de ceteris senatui curae fore. at ille, tametsi
omnia potiora fide Iugurthae rebatur, tamen quia penes
eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogundi potestas erat, ita uti cen-
3 suerant Italici deditionem facit. Iugurtha in primis Adher-

balem excruciatum necat, deinde omnis puberes Numidas
atque negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatus obvius
fuerat, interficit.

27. Quod postquam Romae cognitum est et res in senatu
agitari coepta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando ac saepe
gratia, interdum iurgiis trahundo tempus, atrocitatem facti
leniebant. ac ni C. Memmius tribunus plebis designatus, 2
vir acer et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum
edocuisset id agi ut per paucos factiosos Iugurthae scelus
condonaretur, profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultatio-
nibus dilapsa foret: tanta vis gratiae atque pecuniae regis
erat. sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege 3
Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia
decretae, consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica L. Bestia: Cal- 4
purnio Numidia Scipioni Italia obvenit. deinde exercitus 5
qui in Africam portaretur scribitur, stipendium aliaque quae
bello usui forent decernuntur. **28.** at Iugurtha, contra spem
nuntio accepto, quippe cui Romae omnia venum ire in animo
haeserat, filium et cum eo duos familiaris ad senatum legatos
mittit eisque uti illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat,
praecipit omnis mortalis pecunia aggrediantur. qui post- 2
quam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus est
placeretne legatos Iugurthae recipi moenibus, eique decre-
vere, nisi regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus
proxumis decem Italia decederent. consul Numidis ex sena- 3
tus decreto nuntiari iubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum
discedunt. interim Calpurnius parato exercitu legat sibi 4
homines nobilis factiosos, quorum auctoritate quae deli-
quisset munita fore sperabat. in quis fuit Scaurus, cuius
de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. nam in consule 5
nostro multae bonaeque artes et animi et corporis erant,
quas omnis avaritia praepediebat: patiens laborum, acri in-
genio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissumus contra

6 pericula et insidias. sed legiones per Italiam Regium atque
7 inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectae. igitur
Calpurnius initio paratis commeatibus acriter Numidiam in-
gressus est multosque mortalis et urbis aliquot pugnando
cepit. **29.** sed ubi Iugurtha per legatos pecunia temptare
bellique quod administrabat asperitatem ostendere coepit,
2 animus aeger avaritia facile convorsus est. ceterum socius
et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus, qui
tametsi a principio plerisque ex factione eius conruptis acer-
rume regem inpugnaverat, tamen magnitudine pecuniae a
3 bono honestoque in pravom abstractus est. sed Iugurtha
primum tantum modo belli moram redimebat, existumans
sese aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum.
postea vero quam participem negoti Scaurum accepit, in
maxumam spem adductus recuperandae pacis, statuit cum
4 eis de omnibus pactionibus praesens agere. ceterum interea
fidei causa mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum
Iugurthae Vagam. cuius rei species erat acceptio frumenti,
quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat, quoniam dedi-
5 tionis mora indutiae agitabantur. igitur rex, uti constituerat,
in castra venit ac pauca praesenti consilio locutus de invidia
facti sui atque uti in deditionem acciperetur, reliqua cum
Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit. dein postero die quasi
6 per saturam sententiis exquisitis in deditionem accipitur. sed
uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephanti triginta, pecus
atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori tra-
7 duntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos pro-
ficiscitur. in Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

30. Postquam res in Africa gestas quoque modo actae
forent fama divolgavit, Romae per omnis locos et conventus
de facto consulis agitari. apud plebem gravis invidia, patres
solliciti erant. probarentne tantum flagitium an decretum
2 consulis subvorterent parum constabat. ac maxume eos

potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur,
a vero bonoque inpediebat. at C. Memmius, cuius de liber- 3
tate ingeni et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter
dubitationem et moras senatus contionibus populum ad vin-
dicandum hortari, monere ne rem publicam, ne libertatem
suam desererent, multa superba et crudelia facinora nobi-
litatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum
incendebat. sed quoniam ea tempestate Romae Memmi 4
facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi unam ex
tam multis orationem eius perscribere ac potissumum ea
dicam, quae in contione post reditum Bestiae huiuscemodi
verbis disseruit.

31. 'Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium
rei publicae omnia superet: opes factionis, vostra patientia,
ius nullum, ac maxume quod innocentiae plus periculi quam
honoris est. nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis quin- 2
decim quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum, quam foede
quamque inulti perierint vostri defensores, ut vobis animus ab
ignavia atque socordia conruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem ob- 3
noxiis inimicis exurgitis atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus
decet terrori esse. sed quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen 4
obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit. certe ego 5
libertatem, quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar,
verum id frustra an ob rem faciam, in vostra manu situm
est, Quirites. neque ego vos hortor, quod saepe maiores 6
vostri fecere, uti contra iniurias armati eatis: nihil vi, nihil
secessione opus est. necesse est suomet ipsi more prae-
cipites eant. occiso Ti. Graccho, quem regnum parare 7
aiebant, in plebem Romanam quaestiones habitae sunt.
post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvi caedem item vostri ordinis
multi mortales in carcere necati sunt. utriusque cladis non
lex verum lubido eorum finem fecit. sed sane fuerit regni 8
paratio plebi sua restituere. quidquid sine sanguine civium

9 ulcisci nequitur, iure factum sit. superioribus annis taciti
indignabamini aerarium expilari, reges et populos liberos
paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere, penes eosdem et sum-
mam gloriam et maxumas divitias esse. tamen haec talia
facinora inpune suscepisse parum habuere itaque postremo
leges, maiestas vostra, divina et humana omnia hostibus
10 tradita sunt. neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet aut paenitet,
sed incedunt per ora vostra magnifici, sacerdotia et consu-
latus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: proinde quasi ea
11 honori non praedae habeant. servi aere parati iniusta im-
peria dominorum non perferunt, vos, Quirites, in imperio
12 nati, aequo animo servitutem toleratis? at qui sunt ei, qui
rem publicam occupavere? homines sceleratissumi, cruentis
manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissumi et eidem superbis-
sumi, quibus fides decus pietas, postremo honesta atque
13 inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt. pars eorum occidisse tri-
bunos plebis alii quaestiones iniustas plerique caedem in vos
14 fecisse pro munimento habent. ita quam quisque pessume
fecit tam maxume tutus est. metum ab scelere suo ad
ignaviam vostram transtulere, quos omnis eadem cupere ea-
15 dem odisse eadem metuere in unum coegit. sed haec inter
16 bonos amicitia inter malos factio est. quodsi tam vos liber-
tatis curam haberetis quam illi ad dominationem accensi
sunt, profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur et
benificia vostra penes optumos non audacissumos forent.
17 maiores vostri parandi iuris et maiestatis constituendae gratia
bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere. vos pro
libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summa ope nite-
mini? atque eo vehementius, quo maius dedecus est parta
18 amittere quam omnino non paravisse. dicet aliquis "quid
igitur censes? vindicandum in eos qui hosti prodidere rem
publicam." non manu neque vi, quod magis vos fecisse
quam illis accidisse indignum est, verum quaestionibus et

indicio ipsius Iugurthae. qui si dediticius est, profecto iussis 19
vostris oboediens erit, sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis,
qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Iugurtham scelerum
impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae divitiae, ad rem
publicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint. nisi forte non- 20
dum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet et illa quam
haec tempora magis placent, cum regna provinciae leges iura
iudicia bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia
penes paucos erant, vos autem, hoc est populus Romanus,
invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium satis habe-
batis animam retinere: nam servitutem quidem quis vostrum
recusare audebat? atque ego, tametsi viro flagitiosissumum 21
existumo inpune iniuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus
sceleratissumis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo
paterer, ni misericordia in perniciem casura esset. nam et 22
illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est inpune male
fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur, et vobis aeterna
sollicitudo remanebit, cum intellegetis aut serviundum esse
aut per manus libertatem retinendam. nam fidei quidem 23
aut concordiae quae spes est? dominari illi volunt vos liberi
esse, facere illi iniurias vos prohibere, postremo sociis nostris
veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. potestne in tam 24
divorsis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? qua re moneo hor- 25
torque vos ne tantum scelus inpunitum omittatis. non pecu-
latus aerari factus est neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae,
quae quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine iam pro
nihilo habentur. hosti acerrumo prodita senatus auctoritas,
proditum imperium vostrum est: domi militiaeque res publica
venalis fuit. quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi vindicatum in 26
noxios, quid erit relicum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, oboe-
dientes vivamus? nam impune quae lubet facere, id est
regem esse. neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor ut malitis civis 27
vostros perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne ignoscundo

28 malis bonos perditum eatis. ad hoc in re publica multo
praestat benifici quam malifici inmemorem esse. bonus
tantum modo segnior fit, ubi neglegas, at malus inprobior.
29 ad hoc si iniuriae non sint, haud saepe auxili egeas.'

32. Haec atque alia huiuscemodi saepe in . . . dicendo
Memmius populo persuadet uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor
erat, ad Iugurtham mitteretur eumque interposita fide publica
Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis Scauri et reliquo-
rum, quos pecuniae captae accersebat, delicta patefierent.
2 dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia
exercitui praeerant secuti morem imperatoris sui pluruma et
3 flagitiosissuma facinora fecere. fuere, qui auro conrupti ele-
phantos Iugurthae traderent, alii perfugas vendere, pars ex
4 pacatis praedas agebant: tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum
5 veluti tabes invaserat. at Cassius praetor perlata rogatione
a C. Memmio ac perculsa omni nobilitate ad Iugurtham pro-
ficiscitur eique timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis
persuadet, quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam
misericordiam eius experiri mallet. privatim praeterea fidem
suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam du-
cebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat. 33. igitur
Iugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam maxume miserabili
2 cum Cassio Romam venit. ac tametsi in ipso magna vis
animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut
scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quae supra diximus, C. Baebium
tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cuius inpudentia
3 contra ius et iniurias omnis munitus foret. at C. Memmius
advocata contione, quamquam regi infesta plebes erat et pars
in vincula duci iubebat, pars, nisi socios sceleris sui aperiret,
more maiorum de hoste supplicium sumi, dignitati quam irae
magis consulens sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, po-
stremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore.
4 post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Iugurtha verba facit,

Romae Numidiaeque facinora eius memorat, scelera in
patrem fratresque ostendit. quibus iuvantibus quibusque
ministris ea egerit quamquam intellegat populus Romanus,
tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere. si verum aperiat,
in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam,
sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore sed se suasque spes con-
rupturum. **34.** deinde ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit et
Iugurtha respondere iussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis
quem pecunia conruptum supra diximus, regem tacere iubet,
ac tametsi multitudo, quae in contione aderat, vehementer
accensa terrebat eum clamore voltu, saepe inpetu atque aliis
omnibus quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen inpudentia. ita 2
populus ludibrio habitus ex contione discedit, Iugurthae
Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi
augescunt.

35. Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam nomine
Massiva, Gulussae filius Masinissae nepos, qui quia in dis-
sensione regum Iugurthae advorsus fuerat, dedita Cirta et
Adherbale interfecto profugus ex patria abierat. huic Sp. 2
Albinus, qui proxumo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio
Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe
Masinissae sit Iugurthamque ob scelera invidia cum metu
urgeat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. avidus consul 3
belli gerundi movere quam senescere omnia malebat. ipsi
provincia Numidia Minucio Macedonia evenerat. quae post- 4
quam Massiva agitare coepit neque Iugurthae in amicis satis
praesidi est, quod eorum alium conscientia alium mala fama
et timor inpediebat, Bomilcari proxumo ac maxume fido sibi
imperat, pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae
paret, ac maxume occulte, sin id parum procedat, quovis
modo Numidam interficiat. Bomilcar mature regis man- 5
data exequitur et per homines talis negoti artifices itinera
egressusque eius, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta ex-

6 plorat. deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. igitur
unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem parati erant, paulo in-
consultius Massivam aggreditur: illum obtruncat, sed ipse
deprehensus, multis hortantibus et in primis Albino consule,
7 indicium profitetur. fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque quam
ex iure gentium Bomilcar, comes eius qui Romam fide
8 publica venerat. at Iugurtha manufestus tanti sceleris non
prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animum advortit supra
9 gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. igitur
quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades
dederat, regno magis quam vadibus consulens clam in Numi-
diam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus ne reliquos popularis metus
invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret.
et ipse paucis diebus eodem profectus est, iussus a senatu
10 Italia decedere. sed postquam Roma egressus est, fertur
saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse urbem venalem
et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.

36. Interim Albinus renovato bello conmeatum stipendium
aliaque, quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam por-
tare: ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus
haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quovis modo
2 bellum conficeret. at contra Iugurtha trahere omnia et alias
deinde alias morae causas facere, polliceri deditionem ac
deinde metum simulare, cedere instanti et paulo post, ne sui
diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo modo pacis mora consulem
3 ludificare. ac fuere qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consili
regis existumarent, neque ex tanta properantia tam facile
4 tractum bellum socordia magis quam dolo crederent. sed
postquam dilapso tempore comitiorum dies adventabat, Albi-
nus Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto Romam deces-
sit. **37.** ea tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter
2 res publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis
resistentibus conlegis continuare magistratum nitebantur, quae

dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. ea mora in spem 3
adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra
diximus, aut conficiundi belli aut terrore exercitus ab rege
pecuniae capiundae, milites mense Ianuario ex hibernis in
expeditionem evocat magnisque itineribus hieme aspera per-
venit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. quod 4
quamquam et saevitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque
capi neque obsideri poterat—nam circum murum situm in
praerupti montis extremo planities limosa hiemalibus aquis
paludem fecerat—tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi for-
midinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus ob thesauros oppidi
potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem iacere, aliaque quae incepto
usui forent properare. **38.** at Iugurtha cognita vanitate atque
inperitia legati subdole eius augere amentiam, missitare sup-
plicantis legatos, ipse quasi vitabundus per saltuosa loca et
tramites exercitum ductare. denique Aulum spe pactionis 2
perpulit, uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones sese veluti
cedentem insequeretur: ita delicta occultiora fuere. interea 3
per homines callidos diu noctuque exercitum temptabat, cen-
turiones ducesque turmarum partim uti transfugerent con-
rumpere, alii signo dato locum uti desererent. quae postquam 4
ex sententia instruit, intempesta nocte de inproviso multitudine
Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. milites Romani perculsi 5
tumultu insolito arma capere alii alii se abdere, pars territos
confirmare, trepidare omnibus locis. vis magna hostium,
caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum anceps,
postremo fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto erat. sed 6
ex eo numero, quos paulo ante conruptos diximus, cohors
una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis
militibus transiere ad regem, et centurio primi pili tertiae
legionis per munitionem, quam uti defenderet acceperat, locum
hostibus introeundi dedit eaque Numidae cuncti inrupere.
nostri foeda fuga, plerique abiectis armis, proxumum collem 7

8 occupaverunt. nox atque praeda castrorum hostis, quo
9 minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. deinde Iugurtha
postero die cum Aulo in conloquio verba facit. tametsi ipsum
cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum teneret, tamen se memo-
rem humanarum rerum, si secum foedus faceret, incolumis
omnis sub iugum missurum. praeterea uti diebus decem
10 Numidia decederet. quae quamquam gravia et flagiti plena
erant, tamen quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat
pax convenit.

39. Sed ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque maeror
civitatem invasere. pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars inso-
lita rerum bellicarum timere libertati, Aulo omnes infesti ac
maxume qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod armatus
2 dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat. ob ea con-
sul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam ac deinde periculum
timens senatum de foedere consulebat et tamen interim
exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine Latino
3 auxilia accersere, denique omnibus modis festinare. senatus
ita uti par fuerat decernit suo atque populi iniussu nullum
4 potuisse foedus fieri. consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne
quas paraverat copias secum portaret, paucis diebus in Afri-
cam proficiscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat,
5 Numidia deductus in provincia hiemabat. postquam eo venit,
quamquam persequi Iugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae
animo ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam soluto
imperio licentia atque lascivia conruperat, ex copia rerum
statuit sibi nihil agitandum. **40.** interim Romae C. Mamilius
Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat,
uti quaereretur in eos, quorum consilio Iugurtha senati decreta
neglegisset, quique ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias
accepissent, qui elephantos quique perfugas tradidissent, item
2 qui de pace aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent. huic
rogationi partim conscii sibi alii ex partium invidia pericula

metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et
alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos ac maxume
per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos inpedimenta para-
bant. sed plebes incredibile memoratu est quam intenta fuerit 3
quantaque vi rogationem iusserit, magis odio nobilitatis cui
mala illa parabantur, quam cura rei publicae: tanta lubido in
partibus erat. igitur ceteris metu perculsis M. Scaurus, quem 4
legatum Bestiae fuisse supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis
et suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate cum ex Mamilia
rogatione tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat uti ipse in eo
numero crearetur. sed quaestio exercita aspere violenterque 5
ex rumore et lubidine plebis. ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea
tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

41. Ceterum mos partium popularium et factionum ac
deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae
ortus est otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quae prima
mortales ducunt. nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et 2
senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem publicam
tractabant, neque gloriae neque dominationis certamen inter
civis erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat.
sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea, quae res 3
secundae amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. ita quod 4
in advorsis rebus optaverant otium postquam adepti sunt,
asperius acerbiusque fuit. namque coepere nobilitas dignita- 5
tem populus libertatem in lubidinem vortere, sibi quisque
ducere trahere rapere. ita omnia in duas partis abstracta
sunt, res publica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. ceterum 6
nobilitas factione magis pollebat, plebis vis soluta atque
dispersa in multitudine minus poterat. paucorum arbitrio 7
belli domique agitabatur, penes eosdem aerarium provinciae
magistratus gloriae triumphique erant: populus militia atque
inopia urgebatur, praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis
diripiebant. interea parentes aut parvi liberi militum, uti quis- 8

9 que potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. ita cum
potentia avaritia sine modo modestiaque invadere, polluere
et vastare omnia, nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad
10 semet ipsa praecipitavit. nam ubi primum ex nobilitate
reperti sunt qui veram gloriam iniustae potentiae antepone-
rent, moveri civitas et dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae
oriri coepit. **42.** nam postquam Ti. et C. Gracchus, quorum
maiores Punico atque aliis bellis multum rei publicae addide-
rant, vindicare plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera
patefacere coepere, nobilitas noxia atque eo perculsa modo
per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos,
quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus
obviam ierat, et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos
eadem ingredientem Gaium, tribunum alterum alterum tri-
umvirum coloniis deducundis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro
2 necaverat. et sane Gracchis cupidine victoriae haud satis
3 moderatus animus fuit. sed bono vinci satius est quam malo
4 more iniuriam vincere. igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubi-
dine sua usa multos mortalis ferro aut fuga extinxit plusque
in relicum sibi timoris quam potentiae addidit. quae res
plerumque magnas civitatis pessum dedit, dum alteri alteros
5 vincere quovis modo et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. sed de
studiis partium et omnis civitatis moribus si singillatim aut
pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res maturius
me deserat. quam ob rem ad inceptum redeo.

43. Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri foedam fugam
Metellus et Silanus consules designati provincias inter se
partiverant Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro et quam-
quam advorso populi partium, fama tamen aequabili et in-
2 violata. is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia
sibi cum conlega ratus, ad bellum quod gesturus erat animum
3 intendit. igitur diffidens veteri exercitui milites scribere,
praesidia undique arcessere, arma tela equos et cetera in-

strumenta militiae parare, ad hoc conmeatum affatim, denique
omnia quae in bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui
esse solent. ceterum ad ea patranda senatus auctoritate, 4
socii nomenque Latinum et reges ultro auxilia mittundo,
postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. itaque 5
ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis conpositisque in Nu-
midiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter artis
bonas tum maxume quod advorsum divitias invictum animum
gerebat et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia
nostrae opes contusae hostiumque auctae erant.

44. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp.
Albino proconsule iners inbellis, neque periculi neque laboris
patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator ex sociis et
ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. ita 2
imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam
ex copia militum auxili aut spei bonae adcedebat. statuit 3
tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestivorum tempus comitiorum
mora inminuerat et expectatione eventus civium animos in-
tentos putabat, non prius bellum attingere quam maiorum
disciplina milites laborare coegisset. nam Albinus Auli fratris 4
exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi
provincia, quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit, ple-
rumque milites stativis castris habebat, nisi cum odos aut
pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat: sed neque munie- 5
bantur neque more militari vigiliae deducebantur. uti cuique
lubebat, ab signis aberat. lixae permixti cum militibus diu
noctuque vagabantur et palantes agros vastare, villas ex-
pugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere
eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advecticio et aliis tali-
bus, praeterea frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in
dies mercari: postremo quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt
ignaviae luxuriaeque probra in illo exercitu cuncta fuere et
alia amplius. **45.** sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus

quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse
comperior: tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque
2 moderatum. namque edicto primum adiumenta ignaviae sus-
tulisse, ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium coctum
cibum venderet, ne lixae exercitum sequerentur, ne miles
gregarius in castris neve in agmine servom aut iumentum
haberet; ceteris arte modum statuisse. praeterea transvorsis
itineribus cotidie castra movere, iuxta ac si hostes adessent
vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere et eas ipse
cum legatis circumire, item in agmine in primis modo modo
in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine
egrederetur, ut cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum
3 et arma portaret. ita prohibendo a delictis magis quam vin-
dicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.

46. Interea Iugurtha ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis
accepit, simul de innocentia eius certior Roma factus, diffidere
suis rebus ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus
2 est. igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui
tantum modo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia de-
3 derent populo Romano. sed Metello iam antea experimentis
cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili,
4 novarum rerum avidum esse. itaque legatos alium ab alio
divorsos aggreditur ac paulatim temptando, postquam op-
portunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet uti Iu-
gurtham maxume vivom, sin id parum procedat, necatum
sibi traderent. ceterum palam quae ex voluntate forent regi
5 nuntiari iubet. deinde ipse paucis diebus intento atque in-
festo exercitu in Numidiam procedit, ubi contra belli faciem
tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant.
ex oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant
parati frumentum dare, conmeatum portare, postremo omnia
6 quae imperarentur facere. neque Metellus idcirco minus,
sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere,

late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere et
insidiis locum temptari. itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, 7
item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos
erat, in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in
utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et prae-
fectis cohortium dispertiverat, ut cum eis permixti velites,
quocumque adcederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. nam 8
in Iugurtha tantus dolus tantaque peritia locorum et militiae
erat, ut absens an praesens, pacem an bellum gerens per-
niciosior esset, in incerto haberetur. **47.** erat haud longe ab
eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum
nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxume
celebratum, ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici
generis multi mortales. huc consul simul temptandi gratia 2
et si paterentur opportunitates loci praesidium inposuit. prae-
terea imperavit frumentum et alia quae bello usui forent con-
portare, ratus, id quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum
et conmeatu iuvaturam exercitum et iam paratis rebus muni-
mento fore. inter haec negotia Iugurtha inpensius modo 3
legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, praeter suam libero-
rumque vitam omnia Metello dedere. quos item uti priores 4
consul inlectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat, regi pacem
quam postulabat neque abnuere neque polliceri et inter eas
moras promissa legatorum expectare.

48. Iugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis conposuit ac se
suis artibus temptari animadvortit, quippe cui verbis pax
nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrumum erat, urbs
maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium
temptati, coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare.
igitur explorato hostium itinere in spem victoriae adductus 2
ex opportunitate loci, quam maxumas potest copias omnium
generum parat ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli
antevenit. erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in 3

divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie nomine Muthul,
a quo aberat mons ferme milia passuum viginti tractu pari,
vastus ab natura et humano cultu. sed ex eo medio quasi
collis oriebatur, in inmensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac
murtetis aliisque generibus arborum, quae humi arido atque
4 harenoso gignuntur. media autem planities deserta penuria
aquae praeter flumini propinqua loca: ea consita arbustis
pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur. **49.** igitur in eo
colle, quem transvorso itinere porrectum docuimus, Iugurtha
extenuata suorum acie consedit, elephantis et parti copiarum
pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit eumque edocet quae ageret.
ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis
2 suos conlocat. dein singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens
monet atque obtestatur uti memores pristinae virtutis et vic-
toriae sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defen-
dant: cum eis certamen fore, quos antea victos sub iugum
miserint; ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quae ab im-
peratore decuerint omnia suis provisa, locum superiorem, ut
prudentes cum inperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut rudes
3 cum belli melioribus manum consererent: proinde parati
intentique essent signo dato Romanos invadere; illum diem
aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum aut maxumarum
4 aerumnarum initium fore. ad hoc viritim, uti quemque ob
militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, conmonefacere
benifici sui et eum ipsum aliis ostentare, postremo pro cu-
iusque ingenio pollicendo minitando obtestando alium alio
modo excitare: cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium,
5 monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicatur, primo dubius
quidnam insolita facies ostenderet—nam inter virgulta equi
Numidaeque consederant neque plane occultati humilitate
arborum et tamen incerti, quidnam esset, cum natura loci
tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati—dein brevi
6 cognitis insidiis paulisper agmen constituit. ibi conmutatis

ordinibus in dextero latere, quod proxumum hostis erat,
triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: inter manipulos fundi-
tores et sagittarios dispertit, equitatum omnem in cornibus
locat ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti
instruxerat, transvorsis principiis in planum deducit. **50.** sed
ubi Numidas quietos neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus
ex anni tempore et inopia aquae ne siti conficeretur exercitus,
Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum
praemisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet, existumans
hostis crebro impetu et transvorsis proeliis iter suum remo-
raturos et, quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim
militum temptaturos. deinde ipse pro re atque loco sicuti 2
monte descenderat, paulatim procedere, Marium post prin-
cipia habere, ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in
agmine principes facti erant. at Iugurtha, ubi extremum 3
agmen Metelli primos suos praetergressum videt, praesidio
quasi duum milium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus
descenderat, ne forte cedentibus advorsariis receptui ac post
munimento foret. dein repente signo dato hostis invadit.
Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextra 4
temptare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Ro-
manorum ordines conturbare, quorum etiam qui firmioribus
animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto proelio ipsi
modo eminus sauciabantur neque contra feriundi aut con-
serundi manum copia erat: ante iam docti ab Iugurtha 5
equites, ubi Romanorum turma insequi coeperat, non con-
fertim neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam
maxume divorsi. ita numero priores, si ab persequendo 6
hostis deterrere nequiverant, disiectos ab tergo aut lateribus
circumveniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi
fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta
evadere, nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat. **51.** ce-
terum facies totius negoti varia incerta foeda atque miserabilis.

dispersi a suis pars cedere alii insequi, neque signa neque
ordines observare, ubi quemque periculum ceperat ibi resis-
tere ac propulsare, arma tela equi viri hostes atque cives
permixti, nihil consilio neque imperio agi, fors omnia regere.
2 itaque multum diei processerat, cum etiam tum eventus in
3 incerto erat. denique omnibus labore et aestu languidis
Metellus, ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paulatim milites
in unum conducit, ordines restituit et cohortis legionarias
quattuor advorsum pedites hostium conlocat. eorum magna
4 pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. simul orare et hor-
tari milites ne deficerent neu paterentur hostis fugientis vin-
cere; neque illis castra esse neque munimentum ullum, quo
5 cedentes tenderent; in armis omnia sita. sed ne Iugurtha
quidem interea quietus erat: circumire hortari, renovare
proelium et ipse cum delectis temptare omnia, subvenire suis,
hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat eminus pug-
nando retinere. **52.** eo modo inter se duo imperatores
summi viri certabant, ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus.
2 nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus, Iugurthae
3 alia omnia praeter milites opportuna. denique Romani, ubi
intellegunt neque sibi perfugium esse neque ab hoste copiam
pugnandi fieri—et iam die vesper erat—advorso colle, sicuti
4 praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. amisso loco Numidae fusi fuga-
tique. pauci interiere, plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus
ignara tutata sunt.

5 Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pede-
strium praefectum ab Iugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum
Rutilius praetergressus est, paulatim suos in aequom locum
deducit ac dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat,
festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat,
6 neque remittit quid ubique hostis ageret explorare. post-
quam Rutilium consedisse iam et animo vacuom accepit
simulque ex Iugurthae proelio clamorem augeri, veritus ne

legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem quam
diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri
officeret, latius porrigit eoque modo ad Rutili castra procedit.
53. Romani ex inproviso pulveris vim magnam animad-
vortunt: nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat.
et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari, post ubi aequa-
bilem manere et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque
adpropinquare vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt
ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. deinde, ubi **2**
propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur.
Numidae tantum modo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium **3**
putant, postquam eos inpeditos ramis arborum atque ita
disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt ac plerique ab-
iectis armis collis aut noctis quae iam aderat auxilio integri
abeunt. elephanti quattuor capti, reliqui omnes numero **4**
quadraginta interfecti. at Romani, quamquam itinere atque **5**
opere castrorum et proelio fessi erant, tamen, quod Metellus
amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam pro-
cedunt. nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi **6**
patiebatur. ac primo obscura nocte, postquam haud procul **7**
inter se erant, strepitu velut hostes adventare, alteri apud
alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere et paene in-
prudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi
equites rem exploravissent. igitur pro metu repente gaudium **8**
mutatur, milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta edocent atque
audiunt, sua quisque fortia facta ad caelum fert. quippe res
humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet,
advorsae res etiam bonos detrectant.

54. Metellus in eisdem castris quatriduo moratus saucios
cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat,
univorsos in contione laudat atque agit gratias, hortatur ad
cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria
satis iam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. et **2**

tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Iugurtha ubi
gentium aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset an exercitum
3 haberet, ut sese victus gereret exploratum misit. at ille sese
in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat ibique cogebat
exercitum numero hominum ampliorem sed hebetem infir-
4 mumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam belli cultorem. id ea
gratia eveniebat, quod praeter regios equites nemo omnium
Numida ex fuga regem sequitur: quo cuiusque animus fert,
eo discedunt neque id flagitium militiae ducitur. ita se mores
habent.

5 Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum ferocem
esse, bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine geri non
posset, praeterea inicum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore
detrimento illos vinci quam suos vincere, statuit non proeliis
6 neque in acie sed alio more bellum gerundum. itaque in
loca Numidiae opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa
castella et oppida temere munita aut sine praesidio capit
incenditque, puberes interfici iubet, alia omnia militum prae-
dam esse. ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti ob-
sides, frumentum et alia quae usui forent affatim praebita,
7 ubicumque res postulabat praesidium inpositum. quae ne-
gotia multo magis quam proelium male pugnatum ab suis
8 regem terrebant, quippe cuius spes omnis in fuga sita erat,
sequi cogebatur, et qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in
9 alienis bellum gerere. tamen ex copia quod optumum vide-
batur consilium capit, exercitum plerumque in eisdem locis
opperiri iubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur,
nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis
10 repente aggreditur. eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi
capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus profugit, et Numidae prius-
quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti iussi erant, in proxumos
collis discedunt.

55. Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitis Me-

telli rebus, ut seque et exercitum more maiorum gereret, in
advorso loco victor tamen virtute fuisset, hostium agro poti-
retur, Iugurtham magnificum ex Albini socordia spem salutis
in solitudine aut fuga coegisset habere. itaque senatus ob ea 2
feliciter acta dis inmortalibus supplicia decernere, civitas tre-
pida antea et sollicita de belli eventu laeta agere, de Metello
fama praeclara esse. igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, 3
omnibus modis festinare, cavere tamen necubi hosti oppor-
tunus fieret, meminisse post gloriam invidiam sequi. ita quo 4
clarior erat, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Iugur-
thae effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus
erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; ex-
ercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. sed igni magis 5
quam praeda ager vastabatur. duobus locis haud longe inter 6
se castra faciebant. ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant. ceterum 7
quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, divorsi agebant. eo 8
tempore Iugurtha per collis sequi, tempus aut locum pugnae
quaerere, qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum
fontis, quorum penuria erat, conrumpere, modo se Metello
interdum Mario ostendere, postremos in agmine temptare ac
statim in collis regredi, rursus aliis post aliis minitari, neque
proelium facere neque otium pati, tantum modo hostem ab
incepto retinere.

56. Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt neque
ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea parte
qua sita erat arcem regni nomine Zamam statuit obpugnare
ratus, id quod negotium poscebat, Iugurtham laborantibus
suis auxilio venturum ibique proelium fore. at ille quae 2
parabantur a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum
antevenit. oppidanos hortatur moenia defendant, additis
auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere
nequibat, firmissumum erat. praeterea pollicetur in tempore
semet cum exercitu adfore. ita conpositis rebus in loca quam 3

maxume occulta discedit ac post paulo cognoscit Marium ex
itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum,
quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege
4 defecerat. eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit et iam
egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit, simul magna
voce Siccenses hortatur uti cohortis ab tergo circumveniant:
fortunam illis praeclari facinoris casum dare. si id fecerint,
postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem
5 acturos. ac ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido
properavisset, profecto cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium
fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidae gerunt.
6 sed milites Iugurthini paulisper ab rege sustentati, postquam
maiore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

57. Marius ad Zamam pervenit. id oppidum in campo
situm magis opere quam natura munitum erat, nullius idoneae
2 rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. igitur Metellus pro
tempore atque loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu
3 circumvenit, legatis imperat ubi quisque curaret. deinde
signo dato undique simul clamor ingens oritur neque ea res
Numidas terret: infensi intentique sine tumultu manent,
4 proelium incipitur. Romani pro ingenio quisque pars eminus
glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere ac murum modo
subfodere modo scalis aggredi, cupere proelium in manibus
5 facere. contra ea oppidani in proxumos saxa volvere, sudes
pila, praeterea picem sulphure et taeda mixtam ardentia
6 mittere. sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant, timor
animi satis muniverat. nam plerosque iacula tormentis aut
manu emissa volnerabant parique periculo sed fama inpari
boni atque ignavi erant.

58. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Iugurtha ex inproviso
castra hostium cum magna manu invadit, remissis qui in
praesidio erant et omnia magis quam proelium expectantibus
2 portam inrumpit. at nostri repentino metu perculsi sibi

quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere alii arma capere,
magna pars volnerati aut occisi. ceterum ex omni multitu- 3
dine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis Romani
grege facto locum cepere paulo quam alii editiorem neque
inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt, sed tela eminus missa
remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrari; sin Numidae
propius adcessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere et eos max-
uma vi caedere fundere atque fugare. interim Metellus cum 4
acerrume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem a tergo accepit,
dein convorso equo animadvortit fugam ad se vorsum fieri:
quae res indicabat popularis esse. igitur equitatum omnem 5
ad castra propere misit ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus
sociorum, eumque lacrumans per amicitiam perque rem pub-
licam obsecrat, nequam contumeliam remanere in exercitu
victore neve hostis inultos abire sinat. ille brevi mandata
efficit. at Iugurtha munimento castrorum inpeditus, cum alii 6
super vallum praecipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi pro-
perantes officerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit.
Metellus infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum 7
exercitu revortitur. **59.** igitur postero die, prius quam ad ob-
pugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua
regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare iubet, portas et proxuma
loca tribunis dispertit, deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum atque
uti superiore die murum aggreditur. interim Iugurtha ex 2
occulto repente nostros invadit. qui in proxumo locati fue-
rant, paulisper territi perturbantur, reliqui cito subveniunt.
neque diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum 3
equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent.
quibus illi freti non, uti equestri proelio solet, sequi, dein
cedere, sed advorsis equis concurrere, inplicare ac perturbare
aciem: ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis paene victos dare.
60. eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. ubi
quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti, neque

alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere pariterque oppi-
dani agere: obpugnare aut parare omnibus locis, avidius alteri
2 alteros sauciare quam semet tegere, clamor permixtus horta-
tione laetitia gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad caelum ferri,
3 tela utrimque volare. sed illi qui moenia defensabant, ubi
hostes paulum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti proelium
4 equestre prospectabant. eos, uti quaeque Iugurthae res erant,
laetos modo modo pavidos animadvorteres ac, sicuti audiri a
suis aut cerni possent, monere alii alii hortari aut manu signi-
ficare aut niti corporibus et ea huc et illuc quasi vitabundi aut
5 iacientes tela agitare. quod ubi Mario cognitum est—nam is
in ea parte curabat—consulto lenius agere ac diffidentiam rei
simulare, pati Numidas sine tumultu regis proelium visere.
6 ita illis studio suorum adstrictis repente magna vi murum
aggreditur. et iam scalis egressi milites prope summa cepe-
rant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides ignem alia praeterea
7 tela ingerunt. nostri primo resistere, deinde, ubi unae atque
alterae scalae conminutae, qui supersteterant adflicti sunt,
ceteri quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri magna pars volneri-
8 bus confecti abeunt. denique utrimque proelium nox diremit.

61. Metellus postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppi-
dum capi neque Iugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco
pugnam facere et iam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama disce-
dit et in eis urbibus, quae ad se defecerant satisque munitae
2 loco aut moenibus erant, praesidia inponit. ceterum exerci-
tum in provinciam, quae proxuma est Numidiae, hiemandi
3 gratia conlocat. neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti
aut luxuriae concedit, sed quoniam armis bellum parum pro-
cedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere et eorum perfidia
4 pro armis uti parat. igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum
Iugurtha fuerat et inde vadibus datis de Massivae nece iudi-
cium fugerat, quod ei per maxumam amicitiam maxuma copia
5 fallundi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur. ac primo

efficit uti ad se conloquendi gratia occultus veniat, deinde fide
data, si Iugurtham vivom aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore
ut illi senatus inpunitatem et sua omnia concederet, facile
Numidae persuadet cum ingenio infido tum metuenti ne, si
pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per condiciones ad supplicium
traderetur. **62.** is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Iugurtham
anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas adcedit. monet atque
lacrumans obtestatur uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti
Numidarum optume meritae provideat, omnibus proeliis sese
victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos occisos, regni
opes conminutas esse; satis saepe iam et virtutem militum et
fortunam temptatam: caveat ne illo cunctante Numidae sibi
consulant. his atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum 2
inpellit. mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Iugurtham im- 3
perata facturum dicerent ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque
suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere cunctos sena- 4
torii ordinis ex hibernis accersi iubet, eorum et aliorum, quos
idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. ita more maiorum ex 5
consili decreto per legatos Iugurthae imperat argenti pondo
ducenta milia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum ali-
quantum. quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, iubet omnis 6
perfugas vinctos adduci. eorum magna pars, uti iussum erat, 7
adducti, pauci, cum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Boc-
chum in Mauretaniam abierant. igitur Iugurtha, ubi armis 8
virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, cum ipse ad imperandum
Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit flectere animum suum et ex
mala conscientia digna timere. denique multis diebus per 9
dubitationem consumptis, cum modo taedio rerum advor-
sarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse repu-
taret quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret, multis
magnisque praesidiis nequiquam perditis de integro bellum
sumit. et Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam 10
Metello decreverat.

63. Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias dis
subplicanti magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat:
proinde, quae animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam
2 saepissume experiretur, cuncta prospere eventura. at illum
iam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat, ad quem
capiundum praeter vetustatem familiae alia omnia abunde
erant, industria probitas, militiae magna scientia, animus belli
ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantum
3 modo gloriae avidus. sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini
altus, ubi primum aetas militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis faciun-
dis, non Graeca facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exer-
cuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit.
4 ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit, pleris-
que faciem eius ignorantibus, facile notus per omnis tribus
5 declaratur. deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi
peperit semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut
6 ampliore quam gerebat dignus haberetur. tamen is ad id
locorum talis vir—nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est
—adpetere non audebat. etiam tum alios magistratus plebs,
7 consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. novos
nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is in-
dignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur. **64.** igitur
ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cu-
pido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem
rogat. cui quamquam virtus gloria atque alia optanda bonis
superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia,
2 commune nobilitatis malum. itaque primum conmotus inso-
lita re mirari eius consilium et quasi per amicitiam monere ne
tam prava inciperet neu super fortunam animum gereret:
non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse, debere illi res suas satis
placere; postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod
3 illi iure negaretur. postquam haec atque alia talia dixit neque
animus Mari flectitur, respondit, ubi primum potuisset per

negotia publica, facturum sese quae peteret. ac postea sae- 4
pius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse ne festinaret abire, satis
mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum. is eo tem-
pore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter
viginti. quae res Marium cum pro honore quem adfectabat
tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. ita cupidine 5
atque ira pessumis consultoribus grassari, neque facto ullo
neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret, milites
quibus in hibernis praeerat laxiore imperio quam antea habere,
apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, cri-
minose simul et magnifice de bello loqui: dimidia pars exer-
citus si sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Iugurtham in catenis
habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis
et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet. quae omnia illis 6
eo firmiora videbantur, quia diuturnitate belli res familiaris
conruperant et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur. **65.** erat
praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam nomine Gauda
Mastanabalis filius Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento
secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus et ob eam
causam mente paulum inminuta. cui Metellus petenti more 2
regum ut sellam iuxta poneret, item postea custodiae causa
turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat: honorem,
quod eorum more foret, quos populus Romanus reges appel-
lavisset, praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equi-
tes Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. hunc Marius 3
anxium aggreditur atque hortatur ut contumeliarum in im-
peratorem cum suo auxilio poenas petat; hominem ob morbos
animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: illum regem,
ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse; si Iugurtha captus
aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum;
id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum
missus foret. itaque et illum et equites Romanos milites et 4
negotiatores, alios ipse plerosque pacis spes inpellit, uti Romam

ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium
5 imperatorem poscant. sic illi a multis mortalibus honestis-
suma suffragatione consulatus petebatur. simul ea tempestate
plebs, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat.
ita Mario cuncta procedere.

66. Interim Iugurtha postquam omissa deditione bellum
incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exer-
citum, civitatis quae ab se defecerant formidine aut ostentando
praemia affectare, conmunire suos locos, arma tela aliaque,
quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere aut conmercari, servitia Ro-
manorum adlicere et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia
temptare: prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pati, cuncta
2 agitare. igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio Iugurtha paci-
ficante praesidium inposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis neque
antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se coniurant.
nam volgus, uti plerumque solet et maxume Numidarum,
ingenio mobili seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum
novarum rerum, quieti et otio advorsum. dein conpositis
inter se rebus in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus cele-
bratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis
3 quam formidinem ostentabat. sed ubi tempus fuit, centu-
riones tribunosque militaris et ipsum praefectum oppidi T.
Turpilium Silanum alius alium domos suas invitant. eos
omnis praeter Turpilium inter epulas obtruncant. postea
milites palantis inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio,
4 aggrediuntur. idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate,
alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque igno-
rantibus tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant. **67.** Ro-
mani milites, inproviso metu incerti ignarique quid potissumum
facerent, trepidare. arce oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant,
praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fuga prohibebant.
ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia
2 quae locus praebebat certatim mittere. ita neque caveri anceps

malum neque a fortissumis infirmissumo generi resisti posse:
iuxta boni malique strenui et inbelles inulti obtruncari. in ea 3
tanta asperitate saevissumis Numidis et oppido undique clauso
Turpilius praefectus unus ex omnibus Italicis intactus pro-
fugit. id misericordiane hospitis an pactione aut casu ita
evenerit, parum conperimus: nisi, quia illi in tanto malo
turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, inprobus intestabilisque
videtur.

68. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit,
paulisper maestus ex conspectu abit. deinde ubi ira et aegri-
tudo permixta sunt, cum maxuma cura ultum ire iniurias
festinat. legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurumos 2
potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos
educit et postero die circiter hora tertia pervenit in quandam
planitiem locis paulo superioribus circumventam. ibi milites 3
fessos itineris magnitudine et iam abnuentis omnia docet op-
pidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere
illos relicum laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis,
viris fortissumis atque miserrumis, poenas caperent. prae-
terea praedam benigne ostentat. sic animis eorum adrectis, 4
equites in primo late, pedites quam artissume ire et signa
occultare iubet. **69.** Vagenses ubi animum advortere ad se
vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum esse
rati, portas clausere, deinde ubi neque agros vastari et eos,
qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Iugurtham
arbitrati cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. equites pedites- 2
que repente signo dato alii volgum effusum oppido caedere,
alii ad portas festinare, pars turris capere: ira atque praedae
spes amplius quam lassitudo posse. ita Vagenses biduom 3
modo ex perfidia laetati. civitas magna et opulens cuncta
poenae aut praedae fuit. Turpilius, quem praefectum oppidi 4
unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, iussus a
Metello causam dicere postquam sese parum expurgat, con-

demnatus verberatusque capite poenas solvit: nam is civis ex
Latio erat.

70. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cuius inpulsu Iugurtha
deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi et
ipse eum suspiciens novas res cupere, ad perniciem eius
2 dolum quaerere, die noctuque fatigare animum; denique
omnia temptando socium sibi adiungit Nabdalsam, homi-
nem nobilem, magnis opibus, carum acceptumque populari-
bus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare
et omnis res exequi solitus erat, quae Iugurthae fesso aut
maioribus adstricto superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque
3 inventae. igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur.
4 cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nab-
dalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romano-
5 rum iussus habebat, ne ager inultis hostibus vastaretur. is
postquam magnitudine facinoris perculsus ad tempus non ve-
nit metusque rem inpediebat, Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta
patrandi et timore soci anxius, ne omisso vetere consilio
novom quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit,
in quis mollitiam socordiamque viri accusare, testari deos,
per quos iuravisset, monere ne praemia Metelli in pestem
convorteret. Iugurthae exitium adesse, ceterum suane an
Metelli virtute periret, id modo agitari; proinde reputaret
cum animo suo, praemia an cruciatum mallet. **71.** sed cum
eae litterae adlatae, forte Nabdalsa exercito corpore fessus in
2 lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris verbis primo cura,
3 deinde, uti aegrum animum solet, somnus cepit. erat ei
Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque et
4 omnium consiliorum nisi novissumi particeps. qui postquam
adlatas litteras audivit et ex consuetudine ratus opera aut in-
genio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit, dormiente illo
epistulam super caput in pulvino temere positam sumit ac
5 perlegit, dein propere cognitis insidiis ad regem pergit. Nab-

dalsa paulo post experrectus ubi neque epistulam repperit et rem omnem uti acta erat cognovit, primo indicem persequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit, Iugurtham placandi gratia adcedit: dicit quae ipse paravisset facere perfidia clientis sui praeventa; lacrumans obtestatur per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet. **72.** ad ea rex aliter atque animo gerebat placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis iram obpresserat, nequa ex eo negotio seditio oreretur. neque post id locorum Iugurthae dies aut 2 nox ulla quieta fuit; neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere, civis hostisque iuxta metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pavescere, alio atque alio loco saepe contra decus regium noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum facere, ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari.

73. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus tamquam ad integrum bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium fatigantem de 2 profectione, simul et invitum et offensum sibi parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. et Romae plebes litteris, quae 3 de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori 4 fuit, invidiae esse, at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat. ceterum in utroque magis studia partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata. praeterea seditiosi magistratus 5 volgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus contionibus capitis arcessere, Mari virtutem in maius celebrare. denique plebes 6 sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. ita 7 perculsa nobilitate post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur. et postea populus a tribuno plebis

T. Manlio Mancino rogatus quem vellet cum Iugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium iussit. sed paulo . . . . decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

74. Eodem tempore Iugurtha amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine pars ad Romanos alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant, cum neque bellum geri sine administris posset et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabat. neque illi res neque consilium aut quisquam hominum satis placebat. itinera praefectosque in dies mutare, modo advorsum hostis, interdum in solitudines pergere, saepe in fuga ac post paulo in armis spem habere, dubitare virtuti an fidei popularium minus crederet: ita quocumque inten-
2 derat res advorsae erant. sed inter eas moras repente sese
Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab Iugurtha pro
3 tempore parati instructique, dein proelium incipitur. qua in
parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum, ceteri eius omnes milites primo congressu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidis in omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.

75. Ea fuga Iugurtha inpensius modo rebus suis diffidens cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum atque opulentum, ubi plerique
2 thesauri filiorumque eius multus pueritiae cultus erat. quae
postquam Metello conperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proxumum in spatio milium quinquaginta loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si eius oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates supervadere ac
3 naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. igitur omnia iumenta sar-
cinis levari iubet nisi frumento dierum decem, ceterum utris
4 modo et alia aquae idonea portari. praeterea conquirit ex
agris quam plurumum potest domiti pecoris. eo inponit vasa

cuiusque modi, sed pleraque lignea, conlecta ex tuguriis Nu-
midarum. ad hoc finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam 5
Metello dederant, quam plurumum quisque aquae portaret.
diem locumque, ubi praesto fuerint, praedicit, ipse ex flu- 6
mine, quam proxumam oppido aquam esse supra diximus,
iumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur.
deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et 7
castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente caelo missa vis
aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret.
praeterea conmeatus spe amplior, quia Numidae, sicuti ple- 8
rique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. ceterum milites 9
religione pluvia magis usi, eaque res multum animis eorum
addidit. nam rati sese dis inmortalibus curae esse. deinde
postero die contra opinionem Iugurthae ad Thalam perve-
niunt. oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos credide- 10
rant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum
parare, idem nostri facere. **76.** sed rex nihil iam infectum
Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma tela locos tempora,
denique naturam ipsam ceteris imperitantem industria vicerat,
cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu pro-
fugit, neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno die aut una
nocte moratus simulabat sese negoti gratia properare. cete-
rum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate puta-
bat; nam talia consilia per otium et ex opportunitate capi.
at Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio intentos, simul oppidum 2
et operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia
circumvenit. deinde locis ex copia maxume idoneis vineas 3
agere, aggerem iacere et super aggerem inpositis turribus
opus et administros tutari. contra haec oppidani festinare 4
parare, prorsus ab utrisque nihil relicum fieri. denique Ro- 5
mani multo ante labore proeliisque fatigati, post dies quad-
raginta quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti, praeda
omnis ab perfugis conrupta. ei postquam murum arietibus 6

feriri resque suas adflictas vident, aurum atque argentum et alia quae prima ducuntur domum regiam conportant. ibi vino et epulis onerati illaque et domum et semet igni conrumpunt et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere.

77. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti
ad Metellum venerant orantes uti praesidium praefectumque
eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quendam hominem nobilem factio-
sum novis rebus studere, advorsum quem neque imperia
magistratuum neque leges valerent. ni id festinaret, in
2 summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore. nam
Leptitani iam inde a principio belli Iugurthini ad Bestiam
consulem et postea Romam miserant amicitiam societatemque
3 rogatum. deinde ubi ea inpetrata, semper boni fidelesque
mansere et cuncta a Bestia Albino Metelloque imperata nave
4 fecerant. itaque ab imperatore facile quae petebant adepti.
emissae eo cohortes Ligurum quattuor et C. Annius prae-
fectus. **78.** id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos
accepimus profugos ob discordias civilis navibus in eos locos
venisse, ceterum situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex
2 re inditum. nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa
inpares magnitudine pari natura. quorum proxuma terrae
praealta sunt, cetera, uti fors tulit, alta alia alia in tempestate
3 vadosa. nam ubi mare magnum esse et saevire ventis coepit,
limum harenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies
locorum cum ventis simul mutatur, Syrtes ab tractu nomi-
4 natae. eius civitatis lingua modo convorsa conubio Numi-
darum, legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica, quae eo facilius
retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant.
5 inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

79. Sed quoniam in eas regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos

locus admonuit. qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraque 2
Africa imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. ager in medio harenosus, una specie: neque 3
flumen neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret. quae res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. postquam 4
utrimque legiones item classes saepe fusae fugataeque et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant, veriti ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius aggrederetur, per indutias sponsionem faciunt, uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur: quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur. igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, 5
quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere iter pergere. Cyrenenses tardius iere. id socordiane an casu acciderit parum 6
cognovi. ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus atque in mari retinere. nam ubi per loca aequalia et nuda gignentium ventus coortus harenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata ora oculosque implere solet, ita prospectu impedito morari iter. postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se 7
esse vident et ob rem conruptam domi poenas metuunt, criminari Carthaginiensis ante tempus domo digressos conturbare rem, denique omnia malle quam victi abire. sed 8
cum Poeni aliam condicionem, tantum modo aequam, peterent, Graeci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, ut vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur vel eadem condicione sese quem in locum vellent processuros. Philaeni 9
condicione probata seque vitamque suam rei publicae condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Phi- 10
laenis fratribus aras consecravere aliique illis domi honores instituti. nunc ad rem redeo.

80. Iugurtha postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. eorum 2

multitudinem in unum cogit ac paulatim consuefacit ordines
habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria
3 facere. praeterea regis Bocchi proxumos magnis muneribus
et maioribus promissis ad studium sui perducit, quis adiu-
toribus regem aggressus inpellit uti advorsus Romanos bellum
4 incipiat. id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus
initio huiusce belli legatos Romam miserat foedus et amicitiam
5 petitum, quam rem opportunissumam incepto bello pauci im-
pediverant caeci avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta
6 vendere mos erat. etiam antea Iugurthae filia Bocchi nup-
serat. verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis
ducitur, quia singuli pro opibus quisque quam plurumas
uxores, denas alii alii pluris habent, sed reges eo amplius.
7 ita animus multitudine distrahitur: nulla pro socia optinet,
pariter omnes viles sunt. **81.** igitur in locum ambobus pla-
citum exercitus conveniunt. ibi fide data et accepta Iugurtha
Bocchi animum oratione accendit: Romanos iniustos, pro-
funda avaritia, communis omnium hostis esse; eandem illos
causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis
gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi, quis omnia regna advorsa
sint. tum sese, paulo ante Carthaginiensis, item regem
Persen, post uti quisque opulentissumus videatur, ita Romanis
2 hostem fore. eis atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum
iter constituunt, quod ibi [Q.] Metellus praedam captivosque
3 et inpedimenta locaverat. ita Iugurtha ratus aut capta urbe
operae pretium fore aut, si dux Romanus auxilio suis venisset,
4 proelio sese certaturos. nam callidus id modo festinabat,
Bocchi pacem inminuere, ne moras agitando aliud quam bel-
lum mallet.

82. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere neque, uti saepe iam victo Iugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit. ceterum haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis reges opperitur, melius esse ratus

cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novos hostis adcesserat, ex com-
modo pugnam facere. interim Roma per litteras certior fit 2
provinciam Numidiam Mario datam, nam consulem factum
ante acceperat. quibus rebus supra bonum aut honestum
perculsus, neque lacrumas tenere neque moderari linguam,
vir egregius in aliis artibus nimis molliter aegritudinem pati.
quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant, alii bonum ingenium 3
contumelia accensum esse, multi, quod iam parta victoria ex
manibus eriperetur. nobis satis cognitum est illum magis
honore Mari quam iniuria sua excruciatum neque tam anxie
laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii quam Mario trade-
retur. **83.** igitur eo dolore inpeditus et quia stultitiae vide-
batur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum
mittit postulatum, ne sine causa hostis populo Romano fieret:
habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque coniun-
gendae, quae potior bello esset, et quamquam opibus suis
confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare:
omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrume desinere; non
in eiusdem potestate initium eius et finem esse; incipere
cuivis, etiam ignavo licere, deponi, cum victores velint;
proinde sibi regnoque suo consuleret, neu florentis res suas
cum Iugurthae perditis misceret. ad ea rex satis placide 2
verba facit: sese pacem cupere, sed Iugurthae fortunarum
misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura. rursus 3
imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit; ille pro-
bare partim, alia abnuere. eo modo saepe ab utroque missis
remissisque nuntiis tempus procedere et ex Metelli voluntate
bellum intactum trahi.

84. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissuma plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus iussit, antea iam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox instare, singulos modo modo universos laedere, dictitare sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse, alia prae-

2 terea magnifica pro se et illis dolentia. interim quae bello
opus erant prima habere, postulare legionibus supplementum,
auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere, praeterea ex
Latio fortissumum quemque, plerosque militiae paucos fama
cognitos accire et ambiundo cogere homines emeritis sti-
3 pendiis secum proficisci. neque illi senatus, quamquam ad-
vorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat. ceterum
supplementum etiam laetus decreverat, quia neque plebi
militia volenti putabatur et Marius aut belli usum aut studia
volgi amissurus. sed ea res frustra sperata: tanta lubido
4 cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. sese quisque praeda
locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum alia huiuscemodi
animis trahebant, et eos non paulum oratione sua Marius
5 adrexerat. nam postquam omnibus quae postulaverat decretis
milites scribere volt, hortandi causa, simul et nobilitatem uti
consueverat exagitandi, contionem populi advocavit. deinde
hoc modo disseruit.

85. 'Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non eisdem artibus im-
perium a vobis petere et postquam adepti sunt gerere; primo
industrios supplicis modicos esse, dein per ignaviam et su-
2 perbiam aetatem agere. sed mihi contra ea videtur. nam
quo pluris est univorsa res publica quam consulatus aut
praetura, eo maiore cura illam administrari quam haec peti
3 debere. neque me fallit, quantum cum maxumo benificio
vostro negoti sustineam. bellum parare simul et aerario
parcere, cogere ad militiam eos quos nolis offendere, domi
forisque omnia curare et ea agere inter invidos occursantis
4 factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. ad hoc alii si
deliquere, vetus nobilitas, maiorum fortia facta, cognatorum
et adfinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio
adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est
5 virtute et innocentia tutari. nam alia infirma sunt. et illud
intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me convorsa esse, aequos

bonosque favere, quippe mea bene facta rei publicae pro-
cedunt, nobilitatem locum invadendi quaerere. quo mihi 6
acrius adnitundum est uti neque vos capiamini et illi frustra
sint. ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, uti omnis labores et 7
pericula consueta habeam. quae ante vostra benificia gratuito 8
faciebam, ea uti accepta mercede deseram non est consilium,
Quirites. illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per 9
ambitionem sese probos simulavere; mihi, qui omnem aetatem
in optumis artibus egi, bene facere iam ex consuetudine in
naturam vortit. bellum me gerere cum Iugurtha iussistis, 10
quam rem nobilitas aegerrume tulit. quaeso, reputate cum
animis vostris, num id mutare melius sit, siquem ex illo globo
nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem
veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi:
scilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet festinet sumat
aliquem ex populo monitorem offici sui. ita plerumque evenit 11
ut quem vos imperare iussistis, is imperatorem alium quaerat.
atque ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam consules facti sunt et 12
acta maiorum et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coe-
perint, praeposteri homines: nam gerere quam fieri tempore
posterius, re atque usu prius est. conparate nunc, Quirites, 13
cum illorum superbia me hominem novom. quae illi audire
aut legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae
illi litteris ea ego militando didici. nunc vos existumate facta 14
an dicta pluris sint. contemnunt novitatem meam, ego
illorum ignaviam; mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur.
quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium ex- 15
istumo, sed fortissumum quemque generosissumum. ac si 16
iam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene an
illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi sese
liberos quam optumos voluisse? quodsi iure me despiciunt, 17
faciant idem maioribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute
nobilitas coepit. invident honori meo: ergo invideant labori 18

innocentiae periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum
19 cepi. verum homines conrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt,
quasi vostros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste
20 vixerint. ne illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissumas res pariter ex-
21 pectant, ignaviae voluptatem et praemia virtutis. atque etiam,
cum apud vos aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione
maiores suos extollunt, eorum fortia facta memorando cla-
22 riores sese putant. quod contra est. nam quanto vita
23 illorum praeclarior, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. et
profecto ita se res habet: maiorum gloria posteris quasi
lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur.
24 huiusce rei ego inopiam fateor, Quirites, verum, id quod
25 multo praeclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. nunc
videte quam iniqui sint. quod ex aliena virtute sibi adrogant,
id mihi ex mea non concedunt, scilicet quia imagines non
habeo et quia mihi nova nobilitas est, quam certe peperisse
26 melius est quam acceptam conrupisse. equidem ego non
ignoro, si iam mihi respondere velint, abunde illis facundam
et conpositam orationem fore. sed in vostro maxumo beni-
ficio cum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non
placuit reticere, nequis modestiam in conscientiam duceret.
27 nam me quidem ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio laedere
potest. quippe vera necesse est bene praedicent, falsa vita
28 moresque mei superant. sed quoniam vostra consilia accu-
santur, qui mihi summum honorem et maxumum negotium
inposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum paeni-
29 tendum sit. non possum fidei causa imagines neque trium-
phos aut consulatus maiorum meorum ostentare, at, si res
postulet, hastas vexillum phaleras alia militaria dona, praeterea
30 cicatrices advorso corpore. hae sunt meae imagines, haec
nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae ego meis
31 plurumis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. non sunt conposita
verba mea: parvi id facio. ipsa se virtus satis ostendit. illis

artificio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. neque 32
litteras Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe
quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerant. at illa multo 33
optuma rei publicae doctus sum hostem ferire, praesidium
agitare, nihil metuere nisi turpem famam, hiemem et aesta-
tem iuxta pati, humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et
laborem tolerare. his ego praeceptis milites hortabor neque 34
illos arte colam, me opulenter, neque gloriam meam laborem
illorum faciam. hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. namque 35
cum tute per mollitiam agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id
est dominum non imperatorem esse. haec atque talia maiores 36
vostri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere. quis 37
nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos
contemnit, et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos
a vobis repetit. ceterum homines superbissumi procul errant. 38
maiores eorum omnia quae licebat illis reliquere, divitias
imagines memoriam sui praeclaram, virtutem non reliquere,
neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono neque accipitur.
sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite 39
convivium exorno neque histrionem ullum neque pluris preti
cocum quam vilicum habeo. quae mihi lubet confiteri,
Quirites. nam ex parente meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita 40
accepi: munditias mulieribus, laborem viris convenire, omni-
busque bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse;
arma, non supellectilem decori esse. quin ergo quod iuvat, 41
quod carum aestumant, id semper faciant, ament potent: ubi
adulescentiam habuere ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis,
dediti ventri et turpissumae parti corporis. sudorem pulverem
et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis iucundiora
sunt. verum non ita est. nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere 42
turpissumi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. ita in- 43
iustissume luxuria et ignavia pessumae artes, illis qui coluere
eas nihil officiunt, rei publicae innoxiae cladi sunt. nunc 44

quoniam illis, quantum mei mores, non illorum flagitia
45 poscebant, respondi, pauca de re publica loquar. primum
omnium de Numidia bonum habete animum, Quirites. nam
quae ad hoc tempus Iugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis,
avaritiam inperitiam atque superbiam. deinde exercitus ibi
est locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis strenuus quam felix.
46 nam magna pars eius avaritia aut temeritate ducum adtrita
47 est. quam ob rem vos, quibus militaris aetas est, adnitimini
mecum et capessite rem publicam neque quemquam ex
calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit.
egomet in agmine aut in proelio consultor idem et socius
periculi vobiscum adero, meque vosque in omnibus rebus
48 iuxta geram. et profecto dis iuvantibus omnia matura
sunt, victoria praeda laus. quae si dubia aut procul essent,
49 tamen omnis bonos rei publicae subvenire decebat. ete-
nim nemo ignavia inmortalis factus est neque quisquam
parens liberis uti aeterni forent optavit, magis uti boni ho-
50 nestique vitam exigerent. plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis
virtutem verba adderent. nam strenuis abunde dictum
puto.'

86. Huiuscemodi oratione habita Marius, postquam plebis
animos arrectos videt, propere conmeatu stipendio armis
aliisque utilibus navis onerat, cum his A. Manlium legatum
2 proficisci iubet. ipse interea milites scribere, non more
maiorum neque ex classibus, sed uti cuiusque lubido erat,
3 capite censos plerosque. id factum alii inopia bonorum alii
per ambitionem consulis memorabant, quod ab eo genere
celebratus auctusque erat, et homini potentiam quaerenti
egentissumus quisque opportunissumus, cui neque sua cara,
quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur.
4 igitur Marius cum aliquanto maiore numero, quam decretum
erat, in Africam profectus paucis diebus Uticam advehitur.
5 exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato. nam Metellus con-

spectum Mari fugerat, ne videret ea quae audita animus
tolerare nequiverat. **87.** sed consul expletis legionibus co-
hortibusque auxiliariis in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum
proficiscitur, omnia ibi capta militibus donat, dein castella et
oppida natura et viris parum munita aggreditur, proelia multa,
ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere. interim novi milites sine 2
metu pugnae adesse, videre fugientis capi aut occidi, fortis-
sumum quemque tutissumum, armis libertatem patriam pa-
rentesque et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque divitias quaeri.
sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere et virtus omnium 3
aequalis facta. at reges ubi de adventu Mari cognoverunt, 4
divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt. ita Iugurthae placuerat
speranti mox effusos hostis invadi posse, Romanos sicuti
plerosque remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros. **88.** Me-
tellus interea Romam profectus contra spem suam laetissumis
animis excipitur, plebi patribusque, postquam invidia deces-
serat, iuxta carus. sed Marius inpigre prudenterque suorum 2
et hostium res pariter adtendere, cognoscere quid boni utris-
que aut contra esset, explorare itinera regum, consilia et
insidias eorum antevenire, nihil apud se remissum neque apud
illos tutum pati. itaque et Gaetulos et Iugurtham ex sociis 3
nostris praedas agentis saepe aggressus in itinere fuderat,
ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat.
quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi cognovit, 4
statuit urbis, quae viris aut loco pro hostibus et advorsum se
opportunissumae erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Iugurtham
aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, ... aut proelio
certaturum. nam Bocchus nuntios ad eum saepe miserat, 5
velle populi Romani amicitiam, nequid ab se hostile timeret.
id simulaveritne, quo inprovisus gravior accideret, an mobili- 6
tate ingeni pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum ex-
ploratum est.

89. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita

adire, partim vi alia metu aut praemia ostentando avortere ab
2 hostibus. ac primo mediocria gerebat existumans Iugurtham
3 ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. sed ubi illum procul
abesse et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, maiora et magis
4 aspera aggredi tempus visum est. erat inter ingentis soli-
tudines oppidum magnum atque valens nomine Capsa, cuius
conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. eius cives apud Iu-
gurtham inmunes, levi imperio et ob ea fidelissumi habeban-
tur, muniti advorsum hostis non moenibus modo et armis
atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate.
5 nam praeter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta inculta,
egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus, quarum vis sicuti omnium
ferarum inopia cibi acrior. ad hoc natura serpentium ipsa
6 perniciosa siti magis quam alia re accenditur. eius potiundi
Marium maxuma cupido invaserat, cum propter usum belli
tum quia res aspera videbatur et Metellus oppidum Thalam
magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque,
nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a moenibus aliquot fontes
erant, Capsenses una modo atque ea intra oppidum iugi aqua,
7 cetera pluvia utebantur; idque ibi ut in omni Africa, qua
procul a mari incultius agebant, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia
Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur et
neque salem neque alia inritamenta gulae quaerebant: cibus
illis advorsus famem atque sitim, non lubidini neque luxuriae
erat. **90.** igitur consul omnibus exploratis, credo dis fretus—
nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non
poterat, quippe etiam frumenti inopia temptabatur, quia Nu-
midae pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student et quod-
cumque natum fuerat iussu regis in loca munita contulerant,
ager autem aridus et frugum vacuos ea tempestate, nam
aestatis extremum erat—tamen pro rei copia satis providenter
2 exornat, pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fue-
rat, equitibus auxiliariis agundum adtribuit, A. Manlium legatum

cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium
et conmeatum locaverat, ire iubet dicitque se praedabundum
post paucos dies eodem venturum. sic incepto suo occultato 3
pergit ad flumen Tanain. **91.** ceterum in itinere cotidie
pecus exercitui per centurias item turmas aequaliter distribue-
rat et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat, simul inopiam frumenti
lenire et ignaris omnibus parare, quae mox usui forent. deni-
que sexto die, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrium
effecta. ibi castris levi munimento positis milites cibum capere 2
atque uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur paratos esse
iubet: omnibus sarcinis abiectis aqua modo seque et iumenta
onerare. dein postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur noc- 3
temque totam itinere facto consedit. idem proxuma facit, dein
tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumulosum
ab Capsa non amplius duum milium intervallo, ibique quam
occultissume potest cum omnibus copiis opperitur. sed ubi 4
dies coepit et Numidae nihil hostile metuentes multi oppido
egressi, repente omnem equitatum et cum eis velocissumos
pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam et portas obsidere iubet.
deinde ipse intentus propere sequi neque milites praedari
sinere. quae postquam oppidani cognovere, res trepidae 5
metus ingens malum inprovisum, ad hoc pars civium extra
moenia in hostium potestate coegere uti deditionem facerent.
ceterum oppidum incensum, Numidae puberes interfecti, alii 6
omnes venundati, praeda militibus divisa. id facinus contra 7
ius belli non avaritia neque scelere consulis admissum, sed
quia locus Iugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus
hominum mobile infidum, ante neque benificio neque metu
coercitum.

92. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incom-
modo . . . . magnus et clarus antea maior atque clarior haberi
coepit. omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur, 2
milites modesto imperio habiti simul et locupletes ad caelum

ferre, Numidae magis quam mortalem timere, postremo om-
nes, socii atque hostes, credere illi aut mentem divinam esse
3 aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. sed consul, ubi ea res bene
evenit, ad alia oppida pergit, pauca repugnantibus Numidis
capit, plura . . . . propter Capsensium miserias igni conrumpit:
4 luctu atque caede omnia conplentur. denique multis locis po-
titus ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur non
eadem asperitate qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus diffi-
cilem.

5 Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Iugurthae
Bocchique regnum diiungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem
mons saxeus mediocri castello satis patens, in inmensum
editus uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura velut
6 opere atque consulto praeceps. quem locum Marius, quod
ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. sed ea res
7 forte quam consilio melius gesta. nam castello virorum atque
armorum satis et magna vis frumenti et fons aquae; aggeribus
turribusque et altis machinationibus locus inportunus, iter
castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum . . . .
8 vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur. nam cum eae
9 paulo processerant, igni aut lapidibus conrumpebantur, milites
neque pro opere consistere propter iniquitatem loci neque
inter vineas sine periculo administrare: optumus quisque
cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri. **93.** at Marius mul-
tis diebus et laboribus consumptis anxius trahere cum animo
suo omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam
2 opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus fuerat. quae cum
multos dies noctisque aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus
ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius castris aquatum
egressus haud procul ab latere castelli, quod avorsum proe-
liantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis cocleas,
quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio
legundi paulatim prope ad summum montis egressus est.

ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more ingeni humani cu- 3
pido difficilia faciundi . . . . et forte in eo loco grandis ilex 4
coaluerat inter saxa, paulum modo prona, deinde inflexa atque
aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert. cuius
ramis modo modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus in castelli
planitiem pervenit, quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus
aderant. exploratis omnibus quae mox usui fore ducebat, 5
eadem regreditur non temere, uti adscenderat, sed temptans
omnia et circumspiciens. itaque Marium propere adit, acta 6
edocet, hortatur ab ea parte, qua ipse adscenderat, castellum
temptet, pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius 7
cum Ligure promissa eius cognitum ex praesentibus misit,
quorum uti cuiusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut
facilem nuntiavere. consulis animus tamen paulum adrectus.
itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque 8
quam velocissumos delegit et cum eis praesidio qui forent
quattuor centuriones, omnisque Liguri parere iubet et ei
negotio proxumum diem constituit. **94.** sed ubi ex prae-
cepto tempus visum, paratis conpositisque omnibus ad locum
pergit. ceterum illi, qui e centuriis erant, praedocti ab duce
arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti
prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii
et scuta, verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul
et offensa quo levius streperent. igitur praegrediens Ligus 2
saxa et siquae vetustae radices eminebant laqueis vinciebat,
quibus adlevati milites facilius escenderent, interdum timidos
insolentia itineris levare manu, ubi paulo asperior ascensus
erat, singulos prae se inermos mittere, deinde ipse cum illo-
rum armis sequi, quae dubia nisui videbantur potissumus
temptare ac saepius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein
statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. igitur diu mul- 3
tumque fatigati tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab
ea parte, quod omnes sicut aliis diebus advorsum hostis ad-

erant. Marius ubi ex nuntiis quae Ligus egerat cognovit,
quamquam toto die intentos proelio Numidas habuerat, tum
vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine
acta succedere et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et
4 funditoribus eminus terrere. at Numidae saepe antea vineis
Romanorum subvorsis item incensis, non castelli moenibus
sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctisque agitare, male
dicere Romanis ac Mario vecordiam obiectare, militibus
nostris Iugurthae servitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse.
5 interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque proelio intentis, magna
utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his illis pro salute cer-
tantibus repente a tergo signa canere: ac primo mulieres et
pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere, deinde uti quisque muro
6 proxumus erat, postremo cuncti armati inermesque. quod
ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque
tantum modo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere,
avidi gloriae certantes murum petere neque quemquam om-
nium praeda morari. sic forte correcta Mari temeritas gloriam
ex culpa invenit.

95. Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum mag-
no equitatu in castra venit, quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret
2 Romae relictus erat. sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admo-
nuit, idoneum visum est de natura cultuque eius paucis dicere.
neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus et L.
Sisenna optume et diligentissume omnium qui eas res dixere
persecutus parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur.

3 Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit familia iam prope
extincta maiorum ignavia, litteris Graecis et Latinis iuxta
atque doctissumi eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum
sed gloriae cupidior, otio luxurioso esse: tamen ab negotiis
numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit ho-
nestius consuli; facundus callidus et amicitia facilis, ad
simulanda negotia altitudo ingeni incredibilis, multarum

rerum ac maxume pecuniae largitor. atque illi, felicissumo 4
omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super industriam
fortuna fuit, multique dubitavere fortior an felicior esset.
nam postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo pudeat an pigeat
magis disserere.

96. Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam
atque in castra Mari cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et igna-
rus belli, sollertissumus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus
est. ad hoc milites benigne appellare, multis rogantibus aliis 2
per se ipse dare benificia, invitus accipere, sed ea properan-
tius quam aes mutuum reddere, ipse ab nullo repetere, magis
id laborare ut illi quam plurumi deberent, ioca atque seria
cum humillumis agere, in operibus in agmine atque ad vigilias 3
multus adesse neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, con-
sulis aut cuiusquam boni famam laedere, tantum modo neque
consilio neque manu priorem alium pati, plerosque antevenire.
quibus rebus et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissumus
factus.

97. At Iugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque
locos munitos et sibi utilis, simul et magnam pecuniam
amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios misit, quam primum in Nu-
midiam copias addúceret, proeli faciundi tempus adesse.
quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis ratio- 2
nes trahere, rursus uti antea proxumos eius donis conrupit,
ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut
Romani Africa expulsi aut integris suis finibus bellum con-
positum foret. eo praemio inlectus Bocchus cum magna 3
multitudine Iugurtham accedit. ita amborum exercitu con-
iuncto Marium iam in hiberna proficiscentem vix decuma
parte die reliqua invadunt, rati noctem, quae iam aderat, et
victis sibi munimento fore et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento,
quia locorum scientes erant, contra Romanis utrumque casum
in tenebris difficiliorem fore. igitur simul consul ex multis 4

de hostium adventu cognovit et ipsi hostes aderant et prius-
quam exercitus aut instrui aut sarcinas colligere, denique
antequam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites
Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie neque ullo more proeli sed
catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros incur-
5 runt. qui omnes trepidi inproviso metu ac tamen virtutis
memores aut arma capiebant aut capientis alios ab hostibus
defensabant; pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus,
pugna latrocinio magis quam proelio similis fieri, sine signis
sine ordinibus equites peditesque permixti cedere alius alius
obtruncari, multi contra advorsos acerrume pugnantes ab
tergo circumveniri; neque virtus neque arma satis tegere,
quia hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi erant. deni-
que Romani veteres novique et ob ea scientes belli, siquos
locus aut casus coniunxerat, orbis facere atque ita ab omnibus
partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant. **98.**
neque in eo aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis quam
antea demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortis-
sumis magis quam familiarissumis paraverat, vagari passim
ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi
confertissumi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere militi-
bus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat.
2 iamque dies consumptus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil re-
mittere atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro se rati,
3 acrius instare. tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit,
atque uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos
inter se occupat, quorum in uno castris parum amplo fons
aquae magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte
4 editus et praeceps pauca munimenta quaerebat. ceterum
apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare iubet, ipse
paulatim dispersos milites neque minus hostibus conturbatis
in unum contrahit, dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem sub-
5 ducit. ita reges loci difficultate coacti proelio deterrentur,

neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed utroque colle
multitudine circumdato effusi consedere. dein crebris ig- 6
nibus factis plerumque noctis barbari more suo laetari ex-
ultare, strepere vocibus et ipsi duces feroces, quia non
fugerant, pro victoribus agere. sed ea cuncta Romanis ex 7
tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu magnoque hortamento
erant. **99.** plurumum vero Marius inperitia hostium confir-
matus, quam maxumum silentium haberi iubet, ne signa
quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere. deinde ubi lux
adventabat, defessis iam hostibus ac paulo ante somno captis,
de inproviso vigiles, item cohortium turmarum legionum
tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere
atque portis erumpere iubet. Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et 2
horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere neque arma capere
neque omnino facere aut providere quicquam poterant: ita 3
cunctos strepitu clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instanti-
bus tumultu formidine terror quasi vecordia ceperat. denique
omnes fusi fugatique, arma et signa militaria pleraque capta,
pluresque eo proelio quam omnibus superioribus interempti.
nam somno et metu insolito inpedita fuga.

100. Dein Marius, uti coeperat in hiberna . . . . propter
conmeatum in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat. neque
tamen victoria socors aut insolens factus, sed pariter atque
in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum 2
equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum
funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortis Ligurum curabat.
primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat.
perfugae, minume cari et regionum scientissumi, hostium iter 3
explorabant. simul consul quasi nullo inposito omnia pro-
videre, apud omnis adesse, laudare et increpare merentis.
ipse armatus intentusque item milites cogebat. neque secus 4
atque iter facere, castra munire, excubitum in portas cohortis
ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere, praeterea

alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse cir-
cumire, non tam diffidentia futurum quae imperavisset, quam
uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labor volentibus
5 esset. et sane Marius illoque aliisque temporibus Iugurthini
belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat. quod
multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant, pars a pueritia consuetam
duritiam et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati ha-
buisse: nisi tamen res publica pariter ac saevissumo imperio
bene atque decore gesta. **101.** igitur quarto denique die haud
longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese
2 ostendunt, qua re hostis adesse intellegitur. sed quia divorsi
redeuntes alius ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant,
consul incertus quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine
3 conmutato advorsum omnia paratus ibidem opperitur. ita
Iugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quattuor partis
distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus aeque aliquos ab tergo hosti-
4 bus venturos. interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attige-
rant, cohortatus suos turmatim et quam maxume confertis
equis ipse aliique Mauros invadunt, ceteri in loco manentes
ab iaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere et, siqui in manus
5 venerant, obtruncare. dum eo modo equites proeliantur,
Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius eius adduxerat
neque in priore pugna in itinere morati adfuerant, postre-
6 mam Romanorum aciem invadunt. tum Marius apud primos
agebat, quod ibi Iugurtha cum plurumis erat. dein Numida
cognito Bocchi adventu clam cum paucis ad pedites convortit.
ibi Latine—nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat—exclamat
nostros frustra pugnare, paulo ante Marium sua manu inter-
fectum. simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem
in pugna satis inpigre occiso pedite nostro cruentaverat.
7 quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei quam fide
nuntii terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et in per-
8 culsos Romanos acrius incedere. iamque paulum a fuga

aberant, cum Sulla, profligatis eis, quos advorsum ierat,
rediens ab latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. 9
at Iugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope iam adeptam vic-
toriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus dextra sinistra
omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit.
atque interim Marius fugatis equitibus adcurrit auxilio suis, 10
quos pelli iam acceperat. denique hostes iam undique fusi.
tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi fugere 11
occidi capi, equi atque viri adflicti, ac multi volneribus ac-
ceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo ac
statim concidere, postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata
telis armis cadaveribus et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

102. Post ea loci consul haud dubie iam victor pervenit in
oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. eo post 2
diem quintum quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant legati a
Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, duos
quam fidissumos ad eum mitteret, velle de se et de populi
Romani commodo cum eis disserere. ille statim L. Sullam
et A. Manlium ire iubet. qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen 3
placuit verba apud regem facere, uti ingenium aut avorsum
flecterent aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. ita- 4
que Sulla, cuius facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum,
pauca verba huiuscemodi locutus.

'Rex Bocche, magna laetitia nobis est, cum te talem virum 5
di monuere, uti aliquando pacem quam bellum malles, neu te
optumum cum pessumo omnium Iugurtha miscendo conma-
culares, simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter
te errantem atque illum sceleratissumum persequi. ad hoc 6
populo Romano iam a principio inopi melius visum amicos
quam servos quaerere, tutiusque rati volentibus quam coactis
imperitare. tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia, pri- 7
mum quia procul absumus, in quo offensae minumum, gratia
par ac si prope adessemus; dein quia parentes abunde habe-

mus, amicorum neque nobis neque cuiquam omnium satis
8 fuit. atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset: profecto
ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona ac-
9 cepisses, quam mala perpessus es. et quoniam humanarum
rerum fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuit et vim et
gratiam nostram te experiri, nunc quando per illam licet,
10 festina atque ut coepisti perge. multa atque opportuna
11 habes, qua facilius errata officiis superes. postremo hoc in
pectus tuum demitte, numquam populum Romanum benificiis
victum esse. nam bello quid valeat tute scis.'

12 Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne, simul pauca pro delicto
suo verba facit: se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutan-
13 dum arma cepisse. nam Numidiae partem, unde vi Iugurtham
expulerit, iure belli suam factam. eam vastari a Mario pati
nequivisse. praeterea missis antea Romam legatis repulsum
14 ab amicitia. ceterum vetera omittere; actutum, si per
15 Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum. dein copia
facta animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Iugurtha, cognita
legatione Sullae et Manli metuens id quod parabatur, donis
conruperat.

103. Marius interea exercitu in hibernaculis conposito
cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in
loca sola obsessum Turrim Regiam, quo Iugurtha perfugas
2 omnis praesidium imposuerat. tum rursus Bocchus seu re-
putando quae sibi duobus proeliis venerant seu admonitus ab
aliis amicis, quos inconruptos Iugurtha reliquerat, ex omni
copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita
3 et ingenia validissuma erant. eos ad Marium ac deinde, si
placeat, Romam legatos ire iubet, agundarum rerum et quo-
4 cumque modo belli conponundi licentiam ipsis permittit. illi
mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur, deinde in
itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi
sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul in expeditio-

nem proficiscens pro praetore reliquerat. eos ille non pro 5
vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed adcurate ac liberaliter
habuit. qua re barbari et fama avaritiae Romanorum falsam
et Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. nam etiam 6
tum largitio multis ignota erat, munificus nemo putabatur
nisi pariter volens, dona omnia in benignitate habebantur.
igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt: simul ab eo 7
petunt uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit, copias fidem mag-
nitudinem regis sui et alia, quae aut utilia aut benivolentiae
esse credebant, oratione extollunt. dein Sulla omnia pollicito
docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba
facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperiuntur.

104. Marius ubi infecto quo intenderat negotio Cirtam
rediit et de adventu legatorum certior factus est, illosque et
Sullam ab Utica venire iubet, item L. Billienum praetorem,
praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum man-
data Bocchi cognoscit. legatis potestas Romam eundi fit ab 2
consule, interea indutiae postulabantur. ea Sullae et pleris-
que placuere, pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari rerum
humanarum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in advorsa mu-
tantur. ceterum Mauri impetratis omnibus tres Romam 3
profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rusone, qui quaestor stipendium
in Africam portaverat, duo ad regem redeunt. ex eis Bocchus
cum cetera tum maxume benignitatem et studium Sullae
lubens accepit. Romae legatis eius, postquam errasse regem 4
et Iugurthae scelere lapsum deprecati sunt, amicitiam et foe-
dus petentibus hoc modo respondetur: 'senatus et populus 5
Romanus benifici et iniuriae memor esse solet. ceterum
Boccho, quoniam paenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et
amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit.'

105. Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario
petiverat uti Sullam ad se mitteret, cuius arbitratu de com-
munibus negotiis consuleretur. is missus cum praesidio 2

equitum atque peditum, item funditorum Balearium. prae-
terea iere sagittarii et cohors Paeligna cum velitaribus armis,
itineris properandi causa, neque his secus atque aliis armis
3 advorsus tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. sed in
itinere quinto denique die Volux filius Bocchi repente in
campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese
ostendit, qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus
et numerum ampliorem vero et hostilem metum efficiebant.
4 igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare in-
tendere, timor aliquantus sed spes amplior quippe victoribus
5 et advorsum eos, quos saepe vicerant. interim equites ex-
ploratum praemissi rem uti erat quietam nuntiant. **106.** Vo-
lux adveniens quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho
obviam illis simul et praesidio missum. deinde eum et
2 proxumum diem sine metu coniuncti eunt. post ubi castra
locata et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto voltu
pavens ad Sullam adcurrit dicitque sibi ex speculatoribus
cognitum Iugurtham haud procul abesse; simul uti noctu
3 clam secum profugeret rogat atque hortatur. ille animo
feroci negat se totiens fusum Numidam pertimescere; virtuti
suorum satis credere; etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum
potius quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae for-
4 sitan post paulo morbo interiturae vitae parceret. ceterum
ab eodem monitus uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium ad-
probat ac statim milites cenatos esse in castris, ignis quam
creberrumos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi iubet.
5 iamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum ortu
solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nuntiant Iugurtham
6 circiter duum milium intervallo ante eos consedisse. quod
postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros in-
vadit: credere se proditos a Voluce et insidiis circumventos.
ac fuere qui dicerent manu vindicandum neque apud illum
tantum scelus inultum relinquendum. **107.** at Sulla, quam-

quam eadem existumabat, tamen ab iniuria Maurum prohibet.
suos hortatur uti fortem animum gererent: saepe antea paucis
strenuis advorsum multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto sibi
in proelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore, nec quem-
quam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus
auxilium petere, in maxumo metu nudum et caecum corpus
ad hostis vortere. dein Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, 2
Iovem maxumum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae
Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire iubet. ille lacrumans 3
orare ne ea crederet; nihil dolo factum ac magis calliditate
Iugurthae, cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset.
ceterum quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet et 4
spes opesque eius ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil
palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset. qua re op- 5
tumum factu videri per media eius castra palam transire.
sese vel praemissis vel ibidem relictis Mauris solum cum
Sulla iturum. ea res uti in tali negotio probata. ac statim 6
profecti, quia de inproviso acciderant, dubio atque haesitante
Iugurtha incolumes transeunt, deinde paucis diebus quo ire 7
intenderant perventum est.

108. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam Aspar nomine mul-
tum et familiariter agebat, praemissus ab Iugurtha, postquam
Sullam accitum audierat, orator et subdole speculatum Bocchi
consilia; praeterea Dabar Massugradae filius ex gente Masi-
nissae, ceterum materno genere inpar—nam pater eius ex
concubina ortus erat—Mauro ob ingeni multa bona carus
acceptusque. quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis multis ante 2
tempestatibus expertus ilico ad Sullam nuntiatum mittit para-
tum sese facere quae populus Romanus vellet, conloquio diem
locum tempus ipse delegeret, consulta sese omnia cum illo
integra habere, neu Iugurthae legatum pertimesceret, ...
quo res communis licentius gereretur: nam ab insidiis eius
aliter caveri nequivisse. sed ego conperior Bocchum magis 3

Punica fide quam ob ea, quae praedicabat, simul Romanum
et Numidam spe pacis attinuisse multumque cum animo suo
volvere solitum, Iugurtham Romanis an illi Sullam traderet,
lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse. **109.** igi-
tur Sulla respondit pauca coram Aspare locuturum, cetera
occulte aut nullo aut quam paucissumis praesentibus. simul
2 edocet quae sibi responderentur. postquam sicuti voluerat
congressi, dicit se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo
3 pacem an bellum agitaturus foret. tum rex, uti praeceptum
fuerat, post diem decumum redire iubet ac nihil etiam tum
decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum. deinde ambo in sua
castra digressi sunt. sed ubi plerumque noctis processit,
Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur. ab utroque tantum modo
fidi interpretes adhibentur, praeterea Dabar internuntius,
sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus, ac statim sic rex
incipit.

110. 'Numquam ego ratus sum fore uti rex maxumus in hac
terra et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam deberem.
2 et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis orantibus, aliis
3 ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. id inminutum, quod
ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor. fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando
pretium tuae amicitiae, qua apud animum meum nihil carius
4 habeo. id adeo experiri licet. arma viros pecuniam, pos-
tremo quidquid animo lubet, sume utere et, quoad vives, num-
quam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris, semper apud me integra
5 erit; denique nihil me sciente frustra voles. nam, ut ego
aestumo, regem armis quam munificentia vinci minus fla-
6 gitiosum est. ceterum de re publica vostra, cuius curator
huc missus es, paucis accipe. bellum ego populo Romano
neque feci neque factum umquam volui: at finis meos advor-
7 sum armatos armis tutatus sum. id omitto, quando vobis ita
8 placet. gerite quod voltis cum Iugurtha bellum. ego flumen
Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar

neque id intrare Iugurtham sinam. praeterea siquid meque
vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis.'

111. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice, de pace et de
communibus rebus multis disseruit. denique regi patefecit,
quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam
armis amplius valuissent, non in gratiam habituros. faciun-
dum aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua retulisse videretur:
id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam copiam Iugurthae haberet.
quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore ut illi plurumum deberetur;
amicitiam foedus Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc
ultro adventuram. rex primo negitare, cognationem affinita- 2
tem, praeterea foedus intervenisse. ad hoc metuere ne fluxa
fide usus popularium animos avorteret, quis et Iugurtha carus
et Romani invisi erant. denique saepius fatigatus lenitur et 3
ex voluntate Sullae omnia se facturum promittit. ceterum ad 4
simulandam pacem, cuius Numida defessus bello avidissumus
erat, quae utilia visa constituunt. ita conposito dolo digre-
diuntur. **112.** at rex postero die Asparem Iugurthae legatum
appellat dicitque sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse
condicionibus bellum poni; quam ob rem regis sui senten-
tiam exquireret. ille laetus in castra Iugurthae proficiscitur. 2
deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus properato itinere post diem
octavum redit ad Bocchum et ei nuntiat Iugurtham cupere
omnia quae imperarentur facere, sed Mario parum confidere:
saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam
frustra fuisse. ceterum Bocchus si ambobus consultum et 3
ratam pacem vellet, daret operam ut una ab omnibus quasi
de pace in colloquium veniretur ibique sibi Sullam traderet.
cum talem virum in potestatem habuisset, tum fore uti iussu
senatus aut populi foedus fieret, neque hominem nobilem non
sua ignavia sed ob rem publicam in hostium potestate relictum
iri. **113.** haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem pro-
misit, ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus parum conperimus.

sed plerumque regiae voluntates ut vehementes sic mobiles,
2 saepe ipsae sibi advorsae. postea tempore et loco constituto
in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo
modo Iugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem
ambobus polliceri. illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni esse.
3 sed nocte ea, quae proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio decre-
tum, Maurus adhibitis amicis ac statim inmutata voluntate
remotis dicitur secum ipse multum agitavisse, voltu et oculis
pariter atque animo varius: quae scilicet tacente ipso occulta
4 pectoris patefecisse. tamen postremo Sullam accersi iubet et
5 ex illius sententia Numidae insidias tendit. deinde ubi dies
advenit et ei nuntiatum est Iugurtham haud procul abesse,
cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro quasi obvius honoris
causa procedit in tumulum facillumum visu insidiantibus.
6 eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti
dictum erat, adcedit ac statim signo dato undique simul ex
insidiis invaditur. ceteri obtruncati, Iugurtha Sullae vinctus
traditur et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

114. Per idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris
2 Q. Caepione et Cn. Manlio male pugnatum. quo metu Italia
omnis contremuit. illimque usque ad nostram memoriam
Romani sic habuere, alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse, cum
3 Gallis pro salute non pro gloria certari. sed postquam bellum
in Numidia confectum et Iugurtham Romam vinctum adduci
nuntiatum est, Marius consul absens factus est et ei decreta
provincia Gallia isque calendis Ianuariis magna gloria consul
4 triumphavit. et ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in
illo sitae.

NOTES.

THE CATILINARIAN CONSPIRACY.

THE grammarians variously refer to this treatise as the Catilina, Catilinae bellum, Catilinae historia, Catilinarium bellum, and Catilinarium. The MSS. have also different titles for it.

Quintilian remarks that the prefaces of Sallust are inappropriate, 'nihil ad historiam pertinentibus principiis orsus est' (3. 10). He might also have criticized the undue length of the general remarks in so short a treatise.

P. 49, l. 1. omnis, for the accus. plur. of *i-* stems, which make the gen. plur. in *ium*, the inscriptions from the time of the Gracchi to the death of J. Caesar give forms ending in *-is*, *-eis*, *-es* in nearly equal proportions. The later copy of the old Columna rostrata of the First Punic War has 'Cartaciniensis,' 'claseis,' and 'navales,' pointing thus to indecision in early times. The original termination seems to have been *-ins*, shortened afterwards into *-is*, and then passing into *-eis*, and finally after the Augustan Age into *-es*. But in consonantal stems the acc. plur. seems to have ended in *-es* from early times: thus we have 'opsides' (soon after 290 B.C.), 'pedes' (133 to 121 B.C.), 'homines,' 'leges,' 'patres,' etc. (Corssen, Aussprache, 1. 740).

sese student. The use of the pronoun with verbs like 'studere,' 'velle,' 'cupere,' though uncommon, is found in Cicero, as De Off. 2. 20, 7, 'ille tenuis . . . gratum se videri studet,' as well as in older writers like Caelius Antipater (ap. Festum), 'ita uti sese quisque vobis studeat aemulari,' or Plautus, Asin. 1. 3, 'vult placere sese amicae.'

l. 2. **silentio**, 'unnoticed.' Cf. Tac. Agr. 6. 4, 'idem praeturae tenor et silentium.'

vitam transeant, an unusual phrase for 'degere vitam.' Cf. Tac. Agr. 6. 5, 'tribunatus annum quiete et otio transit.'

l. 3. **prona**, 'earth-regarding,' as amplified by Juvenal (15. 147), 'Cuius egent prona et terram spectantia.'

l. 4. **sed.** The inscriptions before 45 B.C. commonly show a final *d* in words like 'sed,' 'apud,' 'aliud,' but towards the end of the Republic the *d* seems to take a thinner sound, and *t* appears in its place; thus 'set,' 'haut,' become more frequent in the inscriptions of the Empire. Dietsch always prefers the form 'set' in the text of Sallust, but on insufficient evidence.

l. 5. **corporis servitio**, enlarged by Seneca: 'Quem in hoc mundo locum Deus obtinet, hunc in homine animus: quod est illic materia, id nobis corpus est: serviant ergo deteriora melioribus' (Ep. Mor. 65).

l. 6. **quo . . rectius.** Kritz would make 'quo' qualify 'rectius,' as in Jug. 85. 6, and explains it by an ellipse, 'quanto dii praestant belluis, tanto rectius videtur, ingeni quam,' etc. Gründel (Quaestiones Sall. p. 6) compares the passages where 'eo' is used like 'ideo,' as Cat. 20. 3, 'Sed quia . . . eo animus ausus est;' and with a comparative, as Cat. 13. 5, 'animus . . . carebat, eo profusius omnibus modis . . . sumptui deditus erat,' and decides that 'quo' is also used in this and other passages for 'and therefore.'

l. 10. **fluxa atque fragilis**, 'fleeting and frail.'

virtus. 'By virtue Sallust meant much the same as the Italians of the Renaissance, the habit of keeping worthy objects in sight, and being strenuous in pursuit of them,' Simcox, Lat. Lit. 1. 220. Cf. below, 2. 9.

habetur, not merely 'is accounted' but 'is a possession.' Cf. 'audacia pro muro habetur' (58. 17).

l. 11. **mortalis.** Sallust has a special affection for this word, both with and without 'multi,' while Cicero commonly uses it with the epithet 'multi' or 'omnes.' It is constantly used by him, as by Livy and Tacitus, as a sonorous equivalent for 'homines,' and the attempts to trace a different shade of meaning seem to fail. Fronto (in Aul. Gell. 13. 28) discusses its use in the old annalist Claudius Quadrigarius, and decides that it is employed *ἐμφατικώτερον*, 'amplius,' 'prolixius,' 'fusius.'

certamen, as in some measure in the old dispute between Ajax and Ulysses. Cf. Macaulay's History, vol. iv. 409: 'Never perhaps was the change which the progress of civilization has produced in the art of war more strikingly illustrated than on that day. Ajax beating down the Trojan leader with a rock which two ordinary men could scarcely lift, Horatius defending the bridge against an army . . . Such are the heroes of a dark age. . . . At Landen two poor sickly beings, who in a rude state of society would have been regarded as too puny to bear any part in combats, were the souls of two great armies. Men had discovered that the strength of the muscles is far inferior in value to the strength of the mind. It is probable that among the hundred

and twenty thousand soldiers who were marshalled round Neerwinden under all the standards of Western Europe, the two feeblest in body were the hunch-backed dwarf who urged forward the fiery onset of France, and the asthmatic skeleton who covered the slow retreat of England.'

procederet, for 'prospere cedere,' as 'agitanti nihil procedit' (27. 3) and (Cato de R. R. 148) 'totidem dies emptori procedent.'

l. 13. **consulto . . facto**, the neuter abl. of partic. used as an infin. The passage itself may be a reminiscence of Arist. Eth. 6. 9, 2 *πράττειν δεῖν ταχὺ τὰ βουλευθέντα, βουλεύεσθαι δὲ βραδέως*; or of Thuc. 1. 70, 8 *ἔχουσι . . . ἃ ἂν ἐπινοήσωσι, διὰ τὸ ταχεῖαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι ὧν ἂν γνῶσι.*

l. 14. **utrumque**, by 'constructio ad sensum,' referred to the two alternatives of the foregoing sentence; as Jug. 7. 5, 'proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre . . solet.'

l. 15. **eget** offended early editors, who changed it to 'veget,' because of the seeming repetition after 'indigens;' but the participle is not taken immediately with the verb, 'both are of themselves incomplete and each needs the other's help.'

c. 2. **reges . . pars . . alii . . exercebant.** For this apposition of whole and parts cf. Jug. 104. 3, 'Mauri . . . tres . . . duo redeunt.'

l. 16. **divorsi** retains its participial meaning, as Livy 10. 44, 4, 'Itaque diversi, Papirius ad Sepinum Carvilius ad Veliam oppugnandam legiones ducunt.'

pars is frequently opposed by Sallust to 'alii,' 'multi,' 'pauci,' in order to give liveliness to the sentence, and it is often directly connected with masculine adjectives and plural verbs by a 'constructio ad sensum.'

l. 17. **cupiditate.** This form is rarely used by Sallust, who prefers 'cupido,' which Cicero and Caesar avoid.

agitabatur. This is the most common of the favourite frequentatives of Sallust, and is used with 'imperium,' 'pacem,' 'bellum,' 'gaudium,' etc., or even without a case, where other writers would employ a less expressive term. Cf. a passage of Tacitus possibly suggested by this (Ann. 3. 26, 1), 'Vetustissimi mortalium nulla adhuc mala libidine, sine probro, scelere eoque sine poena aut coercitionibus agebant.'

l. 19. **Cyrus.** The Roman writers of this time had little knowledge of the earlier empires of the East, and Sallust therefore speaks as if history were a blank before the times of Cyrus. Herodotus might at least have told him of the fame of the Assyrian and Median empires, to say nothing of the Lydian monarchy and its conquests on the west of Asia Minor.

l. 21. **maxumam.** The older inscriptions of the Republic generally

prefer the *u* to *i* in suffix forms like 'maxumus,' 'aestumo,' though not invariably. The sound was an intermediate one between *u* and *i*. Quintil. I. 4, 7, 'medius est quidam inter *u* et *i* sonus.'

l. 21. **putare.** It is a peculiarity of Sallust to use this word with 'in,' where other writers would have 'ponere in,' e.g. 19. 2; 43. 4; Jug. 53. 3.

l. 22. **periculo atque negotiis,** perhaps a translation of the *μετὰ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων* of Thuc. I. 70, 9.

l. 23. **imperatorum,** not to be taken here in the technical sense in Roman usage of 'military commanders,' but generally of 'rulers' like 'imperium' above, which in its strict sense implies the power of life and death as compared with the civil 'potestas.'

P. 50, l. 1. aequabilius, etc. Imitated by Tacitus (Ann. 15. 21, 5), 'quae si arceantur aeq. atque const. provinciae regentur.'

l. 4. **artibus,** a very favourite word of Sallust for 'practices,' 'course of action.' So Livy (Praef. 6), 'per quos viros, quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit.'

l. 6. **invasere,** here as 10. 6 absolutely: more often with acc. of the object, as 5. 6; Jug. 32. 4. Cicero connects a prepos. with it.

l. 9. **quae arant,** etc., 'the labours of the plough,' etc. 'Quae' like *ὅσα*.

l. 10. **parent.** Cf. Hor. Sat. 2. 3, 94, 'Omnis enim res | virtus, fama, decus divina humanaque pulcris | divitiis parent.'

dediti ventri atque somno, imitated by Tac. Germ. 15. 1, 'dediti somno ciboque.'

l. 11. **peregrinantes.** Corssen (1. 776) explains 'peregri' as a locative = 'in other lands,' composed of 'per' and 'ager,' the 'per' being as in 'periurus,' 'perendie,' 'perperam,' connected with the Sansk. 'paras,' 'other,' or the Oscan 'perum' = 'sundered.' From this comes our word 'pilgrim,' but the associations of the Biblical phrase 'strangers and pilgrims' are very unlike those of the text. Cf. Seneca Ep. 90, 'hoc a me exige, ne velut per tenebras aevum ignobile emetiar, ut agam vitam, non ut praetervehar.'

l. 12. **contra naturam.** This points perhaps to the Stoic rule of life 'naturae convenienter vivere,' which was interpreted in an ascetic sense.

l. 13. **aestumo,** compounded of (1) 'aes,' cf. Verr. Flacc. Fest. p. 24, 'aestimata poena ab antiquis ab aere dicta est, qui eam aestimaverunt aere;' the metal in common use was at first weighed as 'aes rude,' afterwards stamped, 'aes signatum': (2) 'ti-mare,' from a root found in *τίμη*, 'titulus,' 'Titus' (cf. Corssen, Beiträge 330). With this compare sense of 'deliberare' from 'libra.'

l. 14. **verum enimvero,** a rhetorical pleonasm like 'clam furtim,'

'forte temere,' 'rursus novus de integro,' 'non unquam alias ante,' in Livy, or 'imo enimvero' of Accius ap. Cic. Tusc. 1. 44.

l. 15. **negotio intentus.** The abl. case presents some difficulty: in other passages, as Jug. 89. 3, 'aliis negotiis intentum,' and 94. 3, 'intentos proelio,' the case is uncertain: in Jug. 44. 3, 'expectatione eventus civium animos intentos putabat,' the participial meaning 'strained,' 'excited,' is apparent. But here also the 'negotio' may be taken as the cause and not merely the object of 'intentus,' and we may certainly reject the suggested 'aliquoi' as the archaic dative for 'aliquo.'

l. 16. **in magna copia,** 'as the opportunities are many,' pregnant sense of 'in' as in Jug. 14. 11, 'in imperio vestro.'

l. 17, c. 3. **pulchrum.** The old form of this is 'polcer,' the first syllable of which occurs in '*pol*ire,' the second in 'ludi*cer*,' which = 'merry-making' (Corssen, 2. 150). It occurs in inscriptions both with and without an *h*.

l. 18. **absurdum,** connected by Corssen (1. 488) with Old Lat. 'sardare' = 'speak' or 'reason' (cf. Naevius ap. Festum, 'quod bruti nec satis sardare queant'), and with 'susurrus,' 'sorex,' σῦριγξ. He distinguishes it from 'surdus' from a root 'svar' (in Sansk. 'svaras' = 'weight'), so 'heavy,' 'dull.'

The litotes of 'haud abs.' is like that 23. 1, 'haud obscuro loco:' or Jug. 8. 1, 'Iugurthae non mediocrem animum.'

vel pace vel bello. Where these ablatives occur separately in Sallust, they are used with the prepos. 'in,' except when there is an attribute as Jug. 5. 4, 'bello Punico secundo;' thus below (9. 4), 'quod in bello . . . in pace vero.'

l. 19. **fecere.** The official inscriptions from the time of the Gracchi to that of Caesar always kept the full form of the perfect in *-erunt*, and the inscriptions which have *-ere* were generally made in country districts. It seems therefore that the cultivated language of the city preferred the *-erunt*, while the common folk used the *-ere*. Cato, Sallust, and Fronto liked the people's use, but Cicero and Caesar preferred the official form; cf. Corssen, 1. 187.

l. 21. **auctorem** is better attested than the 'actorem' of some MSS. It is also more idiomatic as used for the 'agent,' when regarded as the cause of his own acts; cf. Cic. Orat. 2. 47, 194, 'neque actor essem alienae personae, sed auctor meae.'

l. 22. **arduum.** A. Gellius (4. 15, 2), quoting the whole passage, says that it was objected to by some critics on the ground that the want of sympathy on the part of the readers might make the work of the historian a thankless but not a *difficult* task. He answers that 'arduum' is used here in the sense of 'troublesome,' δυσχερές.

l. 23. **exaequanda**, 'to be matched,' whether by the standard of truth, as modern canons would require, or of brilliancy, on which ancient rhetoric laid more stress. Cf. Pliny, Ep. 8. 4. 3, 'una, sed maxima difficultas, quod haec aequare dicendo arduum.'

l. 24. **malivolentia.** The form in *i* seems to be more common in older inscriptions for words like 'benificium,' 'benivolentia,' etc., and the MSS. point to a preference for this spelling on the part of the older dramatists, though the fashion changed after the Augustan Age. Kritz needlessly objects to the *i* on *a priori* grounds.

ubi de magna virtute. Imitated from Thuc. 2. 35, 5 *μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσε· τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν.*

l. 25. **memores.** Cicero commonly uses 'commemorare,' and very seldom 'memorare,' which Sallust prefers like Livy and the poets.

l. 26. **supra ea.** Kritz refers these words to the 'putat' in the clause before, but it seems simpler to explain it as a case of brachylogy for 'ea quae supra ea sunt.' Cf. Cic. Orat. 1. 4, 'in poetis non Homero soli locus est . . . sed horum vel secundis vel etiam infra secundos' (ap. Const.).

l. 28. **adulescentulus**, used as in c. 38. 1, more loosely than for the age of seventeen when the 'toga puerilis' was changed. This passage seems to have been suggested by one in the 7th of the letters ascribed to Plato; *νέος . . . πολλοῖς δὴ ταὐτὸν ἔπαθον· ᾠήθην . . . ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἰέναι. Καί μοι τύχαι τινὲς τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων τοιαίδε παρέπεσον.*

sicuti plerique. There were scarcely any professional careers at Rome disconnected with political life, and the only rival pursuit for men of energy and good connexions was money-making through the commercial speculations and joint-stock societies. Lawyers and soldiers were political partisans: medicine and the fine arts were left to Greeks and freedmen, and the priesthood provided no distinct career.

studio . . latus sum, 'threw myself with passion.' Cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 32. 91, 'ut omnes intelligant me non studio accusare sed officio defendere.' The 'a studio' of earlier editors came from a mistaken view of the meaning. For use of 'latus,' cf. 'latus odio,' Cic. pro Sestio, 52. 111.

l. 29. **advorsa.** For the spelling, cf. Quintil. 1. 7: 'quid dicam vortices et vorsus, quae primo Scipio Africanus in E. literam secundam vertisse dicitur.'

l. 31. **insolens . . artium.** For construction cf. Jug. 39. 1, 'pars insolita rerum bellicarum.'

l. 33. **conrupta tenebatur.** Cf. Jug. 24. 3, 'armis obsessus teneor.'

Dietsch takes 'conrupta' as an abl. agreeing with 'ambitione,' either in the sense of 'corrupt' or 'corrupting,' but with little warrant for either use. Steup (Rh. Mus. 1870, p. 637) suggests 'conrepta,' as he thinks 'conrupta' too direct an admission of guilt.

P. 51, l. 1. **moribus**, rather 'behaviour' than 'character.'

eadem qua. The abl. 'fama' is somewhat bold, 'caused me to be dogged with the same jealous slander as the rest.' Other readings have been proposed, such as the comma after 'cupido' and the asyndeton of 'eadem quae' in the nom., which is supported by MS. authority; this again was improved into 'eademque quae.' Dietsch strangely thinks it a further improvement to read 'eadem eademque quae,' preserving as he thinks the balance and euphony of the whole sentence. Schöne proposes (Hermes 9. 254) to read with the best MSS. 'cupido eadem quae ceteros fama,' etc., and to read 'reliquis' instead of 'reliquorum.'

l. 4. c. 4. **habendam.** For 'agendam,' as in the common idiom, cf. 51. 12, Jug. 85. 41, but it is varied in the same sentence.

l. 6. **servilibus officiis.** This disparagement of agriculture is opposed to the spirit of old Roman life, which represented its heroes and statesmen as called from the plough, though the agricultural interest steadily declined under the Republic. The contempt implied for field sports is a more marked contrast to modern feeling. It is said that Scipio Aemilianus was distinguished from others of his day by his taste for them which he formed in the royal preserves of Macedonia. Pliny the Younger indeed speaks of hunting as a more fashionable pursuit, but he is careful to carry with him literary materials when he goes for a day's sport (5. 18).

l. 9. **carptim**, 'selecting here and there,' as distinguished from the continuous narrative of a Livy. So Pliny, Ep. 8. 4, 7, 'respondebis non posse perinde carptim ut contexta . . . placere.' Sallust seems to affect the adverbs in *-im*, as 'affatim,' 'certatim, 'catervatim,' 'turmatim,' which occur more frequently in older writers, especially in the fragments of Sisenna.

l. 10. **a spe, metu**, etc. Cf. the profession of Tacitus, that he can write (Ann. 1. 1, 6) 'sine ira et studio quorum causas procul habeo.'

l. 12. **absolvam**, with case (Jug. 17. 2), but here used absolutely, as Tac. Hist. 4. 48, 1, 'ea de caede quam verissime expediam.'

l. 14. **novitate.** There had been already the riot caused by Saturninus when he called on the slaves to take up arms in his defence, and the movement of the Gracchi had been mercilessly crushed by force; but Rome had known little of the horrors of civil war and revolutionary plots, which had been so frequent in the states of Greece.

l. 16. c. 5. **nobili genere.** The full name was L. Sergius Catilina, and the Sergii were an old family, believed to be of Trojan origin; cf. Verg. Aen. 5. 121, 'Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen;'

Juv. 8. 231, 'Quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi | inveniet quisquam sublimius.' The family of Catiline was distinguished from other branches of the Sergii by the epithet Silus ('naso susum versus repando,' Festus).

l. 16. **magna vi . . corporis.** Transferred by Aurelius Victor to his description of Mithridates (Vir. Ill. 79), as the 'ingenio malo pravoque' is borrowed by Sulpicius Severus (Hist. Sac. 2. 45), thus showing how familiar passages of Sallust clung to the memory of later writers.

l. 17. **pravo.** Cf. Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 55, 'si te alio pravum detorseris.' His character was not merely bad by nature (malo) but had a vicious bias from habit.

l. 19. **ibi** for 'in quibus,' as 'unde' for 'a quo' (Jug. 14. 22), and 'ubi' for 'apud quos' (Cat. 20. 8).

exercuit, as an agent in the proscription of Sulla, by the murder of several knights, and especially of Marius Gratidianus an eminent connexion of Marius and Cicero.

patiens inediae. Cf. the like description of Hannibal in Livy 21. 4, 5, 'caloris ac frigoris patientia par . . . vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora.'

l. 21. **simulator.** A rare use of a substantive in an adjectival sense. Cf. Jug. 64. 1, 'contemptor animus;' 12. 5, 'mulieris ancillae;' for the meaning, cf. Servius ad Verg. Aen. 1. 516, 'dissimulamus nota, simulamus ignota, ut Sallustius,' etc.

l. 22. **alieni adpetens, s. p.** Cf. two like contrasts of Tacitus, probably suggested by this: Germ. 31. 5, 'prodigi alieni contemptores sui,' and of Galba, Hist. 1. 49, 5, 'pecuniae alienae non appetens, suae parcus.'

l. 23. **eloquentiae.** We read in Aul. Gell. 1. 15, 18, that the grammarian Valerius Probus used to urge that Sallust wrote 'loquentiae,' and made the correction in his own copy, 'quod loquentia novatori verborum Sallustio maxime congrueret, eloquentia cum insipientia minime conveniret.'

vastus. A bold use for 'restless,' 'insatiable;' cf. use of 'vastabat,' 15. 5.

l. 25. **dominationem.** The dictatorship of Sulla was practically an autocracy, and a tempting example for military adventurers. Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2. 28, 3, 'imperio quo priores ad vindicandam maximis periculis populi libertatem usi erant, eo immodicae crudelitatis licentia usus est.'

l. 27. **quicquam pensi.** Cf. Jug. 41. 9, 'nihil pensi neque sancti habere;' the phrase, often used by Plautus, recalls the times when value was only determined by weight of bronze; cf. note on 'aestumo,' 2. 8.

l. 28. **inopia rei familiaris**, 'straightened means.'

l. 29. **quae utraque**, neut. plur. referring to two fem. singulars, as 20. 2, 'ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata forent.'

l. 32. **res ipsa.** The digression can scarcely be said to be required by the subject in hand; it was more probably suggested by the example of Thucydides 1. 88–118, but with far less propriety and proportion.

hortari, coupled with the infin., as 'dehortari,' Jug. 24. 4, 'monere,' Jug. 19. 2, instead of 'ut,' 'ne' with subj. Tacitus especially followed this example, which is very rare in Cicero; cf. pro Sest. 3. 7.

l. 33. **supra repetere**, 'to begin with earlier times,' as Tac. Ann. 16. 18, 1, 'De C. Petronio pauca supra repetenda sunt.'

P. 52, l. 1. **maiorum.** This supplies by prolepsis a subject to the following verbs, 'habuerint,' etc.; cf. Jug. 55. 1.

l. 2. **ex pulcherrima.** Jordan supplies here 'atque optima' from inferior MSS. and Aug. de Civ. 2. 18, to preserve the balance of the sentence, but it seems needless.

l. 4. **disserere**, more frequently used with 'de,' though not in Cic. de N.D. 3. 40, 95. Cf. Tac. Hist. 4. 69, 1, 'vim Romanam pacisque bona dissertans.'

l. 5. c. 6. **Urbem Romam**, seems imitated by Tac. Ann. 1. 1, 1, 'urbem Romam a principio reges habuere.'

sicuti ego accepi. As at least 25 different versions of the foundation legend of Rome have come down to us (Sir G. Lewis's Credibility of Early Roman History, 1. 401), 'accepi' may imply something like 'I have heard on good authority,' as Sallust must have heard other traditions. His account agrees better with the origin of Alba, as described by Fabius Pictor and Vergil, than with that of Rome, but this may be due to the vague brevity of his language.

l. 7. **cumque.** It is rare to find 'que' combined in prose with a preposition before the time of Livy, except when the same prepos. is repeated.

l. 8. **sine legibus**, as in the golden age of fable, Ovid, Metaph. 1. 59, 'Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae vindice nullo | sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.' Sallust gives a like conjectural account of the early inhabitants of Northern Africa. Jug. 18. 2, 'neque lege aut imperio . . . regebantur.'

l. 10. **alii alio.** The usage of Sallust seems to require 'alius' here as the best MSS. read, not 'alii;' cf. 22. 2, 'alius alii tanti facinoris conscii;' 52. 28. 'alius alium expectantes;' Jug. 12. 3, 'reguli . . . alius alio concessere.' Cf. Gründel, Quaestiones Sallustianae, p. 6.

l. 11. **coaluerint.** After this an inferior MS. inserts 'ita brevi multitudo diversa atque vaga concordia civitas facta erat,' which occurs also as a quotation 'apud eos (gentiles)' in Augustin. Ep. 138. 9. If this

belongs to another author, it is strange that it should have been introduced into the text by a copyist, and it may be genuine. Cf. Jordan in Hermes 1. 246.

l. 14. **habentur** points probably to the condition of the *tenure* of earthly goods, and is not equivalent merely to 'sese habent.'

l. 15. **reges populique**, i. e. the kings of the Etrurian towns, and the federal leagues of Aequian, Volscian, and Sabellian tribes. Rome was not however quite the innocent object of aggression which she is here represented.

temptare. This seems to have been certainly the accepted spelling of the Roman writers, though there is no reason for the insertion of the *p* etymologically ('tendere, tentus'), nor for euphony as where *m* of the root and *t* of the termination come together, as in 'contemptus.' With other frequentatives it is much used by Sallust, and in different shades of meaning.

pauci ex amicis. Rome however generally secured allies who did good service and often bore the brunt of the fighting, as the Latins were chiefly exposed to the forays of the Aequians and Volscians. In later days the allied contingents exceeded the Roman legions in effective strength.

l. 17. **festinare**, connected with 'manifestus,' 'confestim,' 'infestus,' 'offendere.' Cf. Corssen 1. 149.

l. 20. **magis dandis**, etc. Copied from Thucyd. 2. 40, 6, *οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ ἀλλὰ δρῶντες, κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους.*

l. 22. **quibus corpus**, etc. Cf. Arist. Polit. 4. 9, *ἡ μὲν δύναμις ἐν νεωτέροις, ἡ δὲ φρόνησις ἐν πρεσβυτέροις ἐστίν.*

l. 24. **patres.** Livy 1. 8, 6, 'patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati.' More probably the term 'patres,' as equivalent to 'patres familias,' implies that they were heads of families, while 'senatus' denotes their age, the older men being selected for the purpose. Cf. Florus 1. 1, 15, 'consilium reipublicae penes senes esset qui ex auctoritate patres, ob aetatem senatus vocabantur.' Cf. Willems, Sénat, 1. p. 9.

l. 25. **regium imperium.** It was an elective monarchy held for life, not hereditary.

conservandae. Cf. a like use of the gen. of the gerundive to express an aim or purpose, 46. 2, Jug. 88. 4. It is especially frequent in Tacitus.

l. 26. **in superbiam**, as in the traditional accounts of the haughty oppression of Tarquinius Superbus, which provoked the abolition of monarchy.

l. 28. **imperatores.** An archaic use of the word for ordinary rulers. Cf. Jug. 1. 3, 'dux et imperator vitae mortalium animus est.' The two consuls however retained the full 'imperium' both in peace and war.

l. 29. **insolescere** occurs in this sense chiefly in Livy and Tacitus.

l. 30. c. 7. **tempestate.** Of very frequent occurrence in Sallust, as afterwards in Tacitus in the sense of 'time.'

l. 32. **formidulosa.** This spelling is better attested in older MSS. generally than 'formidolosa,' as also 'sanguinulentus,' 'vinulentus,' though the *o* afterwards gained ground. 'Formido' is 'stiffening' or 'settled' fear from the same root as 'forma,' 'fortis,' 'forum,' 'furca,' like Sansk. 'dhar,' 'stiff.' Corssen 1. 476.

l. 33. **adepta.** So Jug. 101. 9, 'adeptam libertatem.' Other deponents are used in a passive sense: 'ulcisci,' Jug. 31. 8; 'interpretari,' Jug. 17. 7; 'enisus,' Jug. 25. 2; 'frustratus,' Jug. 58. 3. These are thought to be partly due to the influence of more archaic styles.

P. 53, l. 1. **quantum brevi creverit.** This may remind us of Hdt. 5. 66, 1, Ἀθῆναι . . . ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι τυράννων, ἐγίνοντο μέζονες. The history of Rome however for some time after the expulsion of the Tarquins shows decline rather than progress, if we may accept the account in Livy.

l. 3. **usum militiae.** Cf. Caesar, B. G. 6. 40, 6, 'usu rei militaris percepto.'

l. 5. **habebant**, coupled with 'discebat' after 'iuventus.' For like cases of singular and plural verbs combined, cf. 23. 6; 17. 6.

labor. Some editors read 'labos' on the authority of Servius, who writes ad Verg. Aen. 1. 253, 'Sallustius poene ubique labos posuit, quem nulla necessitas coegit.' Yet nearly all the MSS. have 'labor.'

l. 8. **se quisque.** The 'se' appears a pleonasm like the 'sese student' of 1. 1. Gründel suggests 'si quisque,' and would move 'properabat' to before the 'conspici.'

hostem ferire. An unusual expression for 'occidere,' which occurs also in Ennius, Ann. 8. 40, 'hostem qui feriet mi erit Carthaginiensis.' Cf. 60. 4; Jug. 50. 4.

l. 9. **facinus facere.** Sallust is especially fond of the jingling phrase, 11. 4; 19. 5; 51. 6, etc. So Catullus, 'at nescis quod facinus facias' (81. 6).

l. 11. **pecuniae liberales.** Yet we hear much in early days of the distress of the small farmers, and of the rigorous demands of the wealthier classes who put in force the stringent conditions of ancient law against the debtors. The Roman nobles were little scrupulous as to 'divitiae honestae.'

l. 14. **parva manu.** The illustrations of this would be drawn chiefly from the Eastern wars of Rome. Her successes in the West cost more time and men.

l. 15. **ea res.** For this seeming pleonasm, cf. Jug. 84. 3.

l. 17. c. 8. **ex lubidine**, 'at its caprice.' Cf. Jug. 42. 4, 'victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa.'

magis. Some editors, after a few MSS., omit the 'magis' here as in 9. 5 and 48. 5. Tacitus furnishes an example of such omission in Ann. 4. 61, 'claris maioribus quam vetustis.'

l. 19. **aliquanto minores.** Cf. Thuc. 1. 11, 6, *αὐτά γε δὴ ταῦτα ὀνομαστότατα τῶν πρὶν γενόμενα δηλοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης.* Juv. 10. 174, 'quicquid Graecia mendax | audet in historia.'

l. 20. **provenere.** As of a crop or natural produce; cf. Pliny Ep. 1. 13, 1, 'magnum proventum poetarum annus hic attulit.'

scriptorum ingenia. A poetic inversion of 'writers of talent,' like the Homeric *Πριάμοιο βίη*, or *ἴς Τηλεμάχοιο*, or the *Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετὰ* of Pindar.

l. 22. **virtus tanta habetur.** It is supposed that this idea was taken from Cato (Jordan, p. 19), cf. Vopiscus Prob. 1, 'Certum est quod Sallustius, quodque M. Cato et Agellius historici sententiae modo in litteras rettulerunt, omnes omnium virtutes tantas esse, quantas videri voluerint eorum ingenia qui uniuscumque facta descripserant.' But the passage of Cato is not very similar, and only contrasts the fortune of Leonidas and an obscure military tribune whose self-devotion was as great.

l. 24. **numquam ea copia, i. e.** 'scriptorum.' Cicero says 'abest historia litteris nostris,' and gives a very disparaging criticism of the earlier writers on the subject (de Leg. 1. 2, 5).

l. 26. **optumus quisque facere quam dicere . . . malebat.** Yet the earliest Roman historian Fabius Pictor took part in the Gallic war of 225 B.C., Cincius Alimentus in the Second Punic War, and Cato in most of the stirring actions of his time. Other early annalists were 'men of the highest social position, who had been engaged in public life, and themselves filled some of the principal offices in the state.' Lewis's Credibility of Roman Hist. 1. 43.

l. 27. **benefacta.** An archaic expression. Cf. Cato in passage referred to just above; 'at idem benefactum quo in loco ponas nimium interest' (J., p. 19).

l. 28. c. 9. **concordia maxuma.** The repeated secessions of the plebs to the Mons Sacer or the Aventine tell a very different tale, though it is true that the long struggle of the commons to wrest from the patricians fuller political rights was carried on by the use of constitutional weapons, unlike the horrors of the later Civil Wars.

l. 30. **iurgia.** The old form of 'iurgare' seems to have been 'iurigare' (fr. 'ius'), like 'gnari-gare' of 'narrare,' and 'puri-gare' of 'purgare.' Corssen 2. 583.

l. 32. **suppliciis Deorum.** Cf. Varro de R. R. 5, 'ad Deorum ser-

vant supplicia.' 'Supplex' from a root 'placere,' 'placare,' 'sub vos placo in precibus fere cum dicitur significat supplico' (Festus, p. 309). 'Supplicium' is the humble prayer or sin-offering of the priest. In extreme cases the criminal's head—or the victim's in his stead—was devoted to the offended god, and hence the word was generalised for punishment. Corssen 1. 395.

P. 54, l. 1. seque remque publicam. A phrase repeated 36. 4, and Jug. 85. 36.

l. 2. **documenta,** 'proof.' Thucydides often has τεκμήριον δὲ in this way.

l. 3. **qui contra imperium.** A notable example is described by Livy, 8. 30–35, in the case of Q. Fabius Maximus, who fought against the orders of his superior in command, and was hardly rescued by the people from the sentence of death.

l. 5. **signa relinquere.** Cf. Tac. Ann. 13. 35, 9, 'qui signa reliquerat statim capite poenas luebat.'

loco cedere. Cf. Livy 24. 14, 4, 'Qui loco cessisset, in eum servili supplicio animadversurum.'

l. 7. **benificiis magis quam metu.** This is so far true that of imperial powers Rome first devised the policy of comprehension by gradually extending the franchise to her subjects and raising them to the level of her own citizens.

agitabant. Cf. above, 2. 1.

l. 8. **c. 10. reges magni,** i.e. Philip and Perseus of Macedonia, and Antiochus of Syria.

l. 9. **nationes ferae.** Like the Spaniards, whose conquest cost so many armies.

l. 10. **Carthago aemula i. R.** This phrase is copied both by Velleius Paterculus, 1. 12, 5, and Pomponius Mela, 1. 7.

l. 11. **patebant.** Cf. Thuc. 2. 40, 4, πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι.

l. 14. **primo pecuniae.** This seems inconsistent with the 'primo magis ambitio' of 11. 1, and Nipperdey (Opusc. 542) proposes to make 'imperi cupido' change places with 'pecuniae.' The facts of history support this suggestion.

l. 15. **ea.** Cf. above, 'quae utraque,' 5. 7.

materies malorum. Cf. Arist. Pol. 2. 7, καί τοι τῶν γ' ἀδικημάτων ἑκουσίων τὰ πλεῖστα συμβαίνει σχεδὸν διὰ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

l. 16. **subvortit.** A favourite verb with Sallust, though strange to Cicero and Caesar.

l. 18. **aliud clausum,** etc. A reminiscence of Homer, Il. 9. 313, ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ βάζει.

l. 22. **contagio quasi pestilentia.** Cf. 36. 5, 'vis morbi ac veluti tabes,' where the stronger of the two metaphorical terms is similarly qualified.

l. 24. **crudele intolerandumque.** This is a true indictment of the misgovernment of the Roman provinces in the last century of the Republic. Governors, usurers, speculators and tax-gatherers all combined to plunder the defenceless world, and no redress could be obtained from the senate or the law-courts. No reformer had any adequate sense of the evil, or ability to devise a remedy, till the imperial rulers treated it as a matter of real moment, and introduced a better system.

l. 26. **c. 11. exercebat**, 'gave them no rest.' Cf. Lucr. 5. 226, 'nunc aurum et purpura curis | exercent hominum vitam.'

l. 27. **ignavos.** Long after the short *o* of Old Latin was changed to *u* in final syllables there was felt a dislike to allow two *v* sounds to come together, so that till the time of Augustus the old form *vo* was retained in words like 'novos,' 'ignavos,' 'aequom'; but we find 'vivus' in the Monumentum Ancyr. at the end of the period.

l. 30. **habet**, 'implies.'

l. 31. **venenis malis.** Cf. a like pleonasm in the old law, quoted by Cicero pro Cluentio 54. 148, 'qui venenum malum fecit fecerit.' The word was originally of neutral tint, like poison (potio); thus A. Gell. 12. 9, 2 speaks of 'periculum,' 'venenum,' 'contagium' as not being originally restricted to a bad sense.

effeminat. There is a critical discussion of this passage in Aul. Gell. 3. 1, 3, which turns on the use of this word. Sallust here reflects the ancient feeling that the exclusive pursuit of money-making distracts the mind from all nobler interests, and tends to neglect of the body's health and vigour: 'negotiis se umbraticis et sellulariis quaestibus intentos habent, in quibus omnis eorum vigor animi corporisque elanguescit.' Aristotle says *λωβῶνται τὰ σώματα. οὐχ οἷόν τε τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς πράττειν*, speaking of artisans and traders.

P. 55, l. 1. **bonis initiis.** This may be taken with Kritz as an abl. abs., or as following the verbal subst. 'eventus.' Cf. 40. 2, 'quem exitum tantis malis sperarent.' For the contrast between the outset of the campaign and the bloody close, cf. Vell. Paterc. 2. 25, 1, 'putares Sullam venisse in Italiam, non belli vindicem sed pacis auctorem, tanta cum quiete exercitum per Calabriam Apuliamque cum singulari cura frugum agrorum hominum urbium perduxit in Campaniam.'

eventus. The merciless cruelties of Sulla—carried out as they were, not in the heat of passion, but in cold blood—gave the tone to the subsequent proscriptions of the Triumvirs.

rapere. The historic infinitive is of very frequent occurrence in Sallust. It is used in order to bring vividly before the reader's fancy the various stages of a past event, or the different aspects or repetitions of a scene without any attempt to define their exact relations to each other, either in time or place. Cf. Constans de Serm. Sall. 144.

l. 4. **ductaverat.** Sallust often uses this among other frequentatives, but from the accident of later usage it acquired low associations, and is referred to by Quintilian (Inst. Orat. 8. 3, 44) as one of the cases of *κακέμφατον*, though used by Sallust 'sancte et antique.' Tacitus, however, has the same phrase (Hist. 2. 100, 2), 'exercitui quem ipse ductaverat,' though this may be an imitation.

l. 6. **liberaliter habuerat.** Cf. 14. 7, 'honeste habuisse,' and Jug. 113. 3, 'benigne habere.' Plutarch speaks strongly of Sulla and other ambitious generals corrupting the ancient discipline of Roman armies for personal or party ends (Sulla 12).

voluptaria. Plautus explains this to Roman tastes; Paen. 3. 2, 25, 'liberum ut commonstremus tibi locum et voluptarium | ubi ames, potes, pergraecere.' Livy (39. 6, 7) refers the spread of luxury to Asia as its source, 'luxuriae peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in urbem est, ii primum lectos aeratos vestem stragulam pretiosam, plagulas et alia textilia . . . Romam advexerunt.'

l. 7. **ferocis . . . molliverant.** Cf. Tac. Hist. 2. 76, 8, 'Si quid ardoris ac ferociae miles habuit, popinis et comissationibus et principis imitatione deteritur.'

l. 9. **caelata**, 'embossed.' Cf. Quintil. 3. 21, 'caelatura quae auro argento aere ferro opera efficit; nam sculptura lignum ebur marmor vitrum gemmas . . . complectitur.'

mirari. Livy refers the beginning of this fashion to the capture of Syracuse (25. 402), 'inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera;' Pliny (33. 11) to the victories of Scipio in Asia; others to the capture of Corinth by Mummius (Vell. Pat. 1. 13, 4). Cf. Juv. 11. 100, 'Tunc rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes | . . . . magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles.'

privatim et publice, 'whether they were private or public property.'

l. 10. **delubra.** The ancients variously discussed the origin of this word. Varro says, 'sicut locum in quo figerat candelam candelabrum appellarunt; ita in quo deum ponerent nominarunt delubrum;' and Kritz strangely approves of this derivation. Others derive it from the root *lu* (lavere) as Fronto, 'in quo homines pericula sua diluunt: ponunt enim vel pileum, vel alia suscepta votis,' or as though the shrine were itself 'ex votis condita quae ita solvebant.' But it is

simplest to refer it to actual washing of the body as the symbol of purification.

l. 11. **nihil reliqui.** So 28. 4; 52. 4; 'quid reliqui,' 20. 13; but 'nihil reliquum fieri,' Jug. 76. 4.

l. 12. **ne.** Some MSS. have the more usual 'nedum.' The first clause of the sentence, though affirmative in form, implies a negative, 'do not fail to try,' and the 'ne' of the second emphasises this more strongly: 'still less could they, demoralized as they were, refrain from abusing their success.'

l. 13. **victoriae temperarent.** Tacitus (Hist. 3. 31, 6) borrows this phrase, 'qui nuper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent.' Dietsch reads 'temperarint' without MS. authority, but the tense in the text can be taken in a potential sense of the past.

l. 16. c. 12. **innocentia pro malivolentia duci.** 'Clean-handed integrity was thought by others a malignant reflection on themselves.' Fabri compares Tac. Ann. 16. 22, 3, 'rigidi et tristes, quo tibi lasciviam exprobent.'

coepit. The general rule of classical usage requires the passive of 'coepi' with a passive infinitive, but 'duci' is here equivalent to a middle voice, 'stand for,' as 'haberi coepit,' Jug. 92. 1; and Cic. Tusc. 3. 66, 'coepisse afflictari.'

l. 20. **promiscua.** In the sense of 'worthless,' as by Tacitus, Germ. 5. 5, 'p. ac vilia mercantibus;' A. Gell. 16. 13, 4, 'de opinionis tam promiscae erroribus.'

l. 21. **in urbium modum.** Cf. Valer. Max. 4. 4, 7, 'anguste se habitare nunc putat, cuius domus tantum patet, quantum Cincinnati rura patuerunt.' Seneca, Ep. 90, 'non habebant domos instar urbium;' cf. also Juv. 14. 86, etc., 'aedificator erat Centronius,' etc.

l. 23. **verum.** This is not the connecting link we might at first sight expect. We may probably supply the thought, 'Those temples indeed were small, still more their houses, but,' etc.

l. 26. **sociis.** The word is here loosely used of subject-races, which were alone exposed to exactions and misgovernment. The 'socii' were technically independent societies, living under their own governors, though owning the supremacy of Rome, and aiding in times of war. Cf. Juv. 8. 108, 'nunc sociis iuga pauca boum, grex parvus equarum | et pater armenti capto eripietur agello.'

l. 27. **reliquerant.** Cf. the forbearance of M. Marcellus at Syracuse, as described by Cic. Verr. 2. 2, 'qui Syracusas non solum incolumes esse passus est, sed ita reliquit ornatas, ut esset idem monumentum victoriae, mansuetudinis, continentiae.'

l. 28. **facere . . . uti.** For two infinitives, as subj. and pred. respectively, cf. Jug. 31. 26, 'impune quae lubet facere, id est regem esse.'

l. 29. c. **13. privatis,** probably in contrast to the marvels recounted of the Persian king, Juv. 10. 174, 'velificatus Athos . . . constratum classibus isdem | suppositumque rotis solidum mare.'

l. 30. **constrata,** 'bridged over,' as in the passage of Juv. above. A commoner reading is 'constructa,' in which case the reference would be to the great fish-ponds made by the Roman nobles; cf. Vell. Paterc. 2. 33, 4, 'Lucullus profusae huius in aedificiis convictibus et apparatibus luxuriae primus auctor fuit. Quem ob iniectas moles mari et receptum suffossis montibus in terras mare, haud infacete magnus Pompeius Xerxen togatum vocare adsueverat.' Dietsch prefers the reading 'contracta,' which has little support in the MSS., and thinks that it suggested the line of Horace, Carm. 3. 1, 33, 'contracta pisces aequora sentiunt.' But the best MSS. and the Scholiast A to Lucan 2. 677, point to 'constrata,' and to the analogy of Xerxes' enterprises; cf. Hieronymus, Ep. 60. 18, 'Xerxes rex potentissimus, qui subvertit montes, maria constravit.'

l. 33. **cultus,** here in the sense of 'self-indulgence.'

P. 56, l. 1. **in propatulo.** Fabri notes the fondness of Sallust for like phrases with a verb 'in incerto,' 'in obscuro,' 'in excelso,' 'in dubio,' 'in extremo.'

l. 2. **omnia exquirere.** Cf. Juv. 10. 94, 'dum gula saevit | retibus assiduis penitus scrutante macello | proxima.'

l. 4. **antecapere.** For this Cicero would use 'praecipere' (once only 'anticipare'); Pliny, 'praesumere'; cf. 32. 1.

l. 7. **eo.** Cf. note on 'quo rectius,' 1. 3.

l. 10. c. **14. flagitiorum.** Corssen, 1. 398, connects this word with 'flagrare,' 'flamen,' φλέγειν, 'flagitare,' as expressing originally the heat of passion, and then the results of it; cf. Cic. Verr. 4. 32, 7, 'quae domesticis stupris flagitiisque flagrabant.'

l. 11. **stipatorum,** 'body-guard,' as Cic. p. Domo Sua 5, 'armiger Catilinae stipator tui corporis.' Binsfeld (Rh. Mus. 1866, p. 485) objects to the use of 'caterva' with abstract words like 'flagitia,' and proposes 'stipationem,' as used by Cicero, Pliny, Quintilian, for 'stip. cat.'

l. 13. **laceraverat,** so Cic. Verr. 3. 70, 164, 'pecunia lacerata est.' Fabri compares Hom. Od. 16. 315, *χρήματα δαρδάπτειν.*

l. 15. **parricidae.** The old form seems to have been 'paricidas,' the first part of which is the same root as of 'parens,' 'opiparus,' 'properus,' 'pauper,' ('pauci-per'). The Romans applied to murder generally the name of the worst form of it, as in the old law ascribed to Numa, 'is qui hominem liberum dolo sciens morti duit paricidas esto;' cf. Corssen, Beitr. 238.

l. 16. **ad hoc.** A very favourite expression of Sallust for 'praeterea.'

l. 20. **cotidiano.** As regards the spelling of this word Corssen says (1. 175) that 'cottidie' is the best-attested form in early inscriptions and MSS., though 'cotidie' is etymologically correct (from coti = Sansk. 'kati,' whence the later form 'quot'); 'quotidie' has no epigraphic authority.

par similisque s. e., 'was brought to the same low level and made like the rest.' Fabri compares Quint. 10. 1, 102, 'pares eos (Sallustium et Livium) magis quam similes;' and 12. 10, 71, 'non ubique similis, sed ubique par sibi.'

l. 21. **adulescentium**, such as M. Caelius, P. Clodius, A. Gabinius, who were accused by Cicero of this intimacy, or defended by him.

l. 25. **neque sumptui.** Catiline seems always able to spend money, notwithstanding his narrow means and damaged credit.

modestiae. Madvig suggests 'molestiae' in place of a term that seems out of place in the case of Catiline (Advers. 2. 291).

l. 26. **obnoxios.** Cf. Tac. Ann. 12. 1, 1, 'coniugum imperiis obnoxio (Claudio).'

l. 29. **cuiquam.** The dative is used with 'conpertum,' the news being regarded as something ascertained for the use or convenience of the agent: so 22. 4, and Jug. 75. 2. Caesar avoids this construction, which Tacitus especially affects; cf. Madvig de Fin. 1. 4, 11.

l. 31. c. 15. **sacerdote Vestae.** According to Asconius, the celebrated commentator of Cicero, this was Fabia, the sister of Cicero's wife Terentia. It is said that Catiline was acquitted of this charge in 73 B.C., through the influence of Catulus; cf. Orosius 6. 3.

l. 32. **captus** might naturally be taken as a nominative to 'creditur' after the common Greek construction, which Sallust often adopts: cf. Jug. 64. 4; 84. 3; but the addition of 'pro certo' would in that case be very awkward. It seems better to explain it as a case of nominative 'pendens' with anacoluthon.

P. 57, l. 1. **dubitabat.** Rarely combined with an infinitive except in negative or interrogative sentences; cf. Dräger, Hist. Synt. 2. 327.

privignum, for 'privigenum,' 'the child of only one of two married people.' Festus. p. 226, 'pri antiqui pro prae dixerunt.' Hence 'privus,' 'priscus,' 'pristinus;' cf. Corssen 1. 780.

l. 2. **vacuam d.** Cf. Livy 1. 46, 9, 'cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent;' and Cic. Cat. 1. 6, 14, 'cum novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses.'

l. 5. **infestus**, here as elsewhere in Sallust in an active sense, 'hating.' It is used by Cicero also passively for 'endangered,' as pro S. Roscio 11. 30, 'filii vita infesta, saepe ferro atque insidiis appetita.' So Aul. Gell. 9. 12, 2, 'is infestus appellatur qui malum infert cuipiam; et contra, cui aliunde impendet malum.'

quietibus. The unusual plural is here put probably to harmonize in form with 'vigiliis,' as Jug. 31. 20, 'bella atque paces;' Jug. 41. 7, 'gloriae triumphique erant.' Cf. Dräger, Hist. Synt. 1. 17.

l. 6. **vastabat**, 'gave him no peace,' as of a country scourged by war. Sallust first states the current beliefs as established facts, and then goes on to describe the mental state of Catiline, for which he could have no evidence. The whole chapter is extravagantly rhetorical.

colos. This form is supported not only by MSS., but by the authority of the grammarian Probus, who twice quotes the passage.

ei. Sallust always puts the 'dat' with 'inesse,' not, as Cicero, 'in' with the abl. The 'in facie' below is therefore descriptive, and does not complete the construction of 'inerat.'

l. 7. **citus modo, m. t.** Cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 3, 9, 'nil aequale homini fuit illi; saepe velut qui | currebat fugiens hostem; persaepe velut qui | Iunonis sacra ferret.'

l. 8. **vecordia.** Confined generally to the poets and Tacitus, but also Jug. 5. 2; 72. 2; 94. 4, etc.

l. 10. c. 16. **testis.** Cf. Livy 39. 8, 7, 'falsi testes, falsa signa, testimoniaque et indicia ex eadem officina exibant;' Juv. 1. 67, 'signator falso qui se lautum atque beatum | exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerat uda.'

l. 15. **gratuito.** 'For no special profit.' Cf. Livy, 1. 47, 1, 'ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent.'

malus. The character of Catiline given above is an exaggeration even of that painted by Cicero in his speeches in Cat., but this he toned down in later writings. Cf. pro Caelio 5. 12, 'habuit ille permulta maximarum non expressa signa sed adumbrata virtutum.'

l. 18. **largius suo usi.** Cf. Cic. Cat. 2. 9, 20, 'in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit ab iis inferis excitandus.'

l. 20. **In Italia nullus exercitus.** The armies were now levied only for service in the provinces, or at the seat of war. No standing force was thought requisite for Italy, save in the North for Gallia Cisalpina, which was treated as a province, as when Julius Caesar held it with Illyricum.

l. 21. **in extremis.** Cf. Livy, Ep. 101, 'Cn. Pompeius, cum Mithridatem persequeretur, in ultimas ignotasque regiones penetravit;' Vell. Paterc. 2. 40, 1, 'penetratae cum victoria Media Albania Iberia, deinde flexum agmen ad eas nationes quae dextra atque intima Ponti incolunt.'

l. 23. **prorsus.** The only place in which Sallust uses this word in the sense of 'omnino'; elsewhere it is 'in a word.'

l. 24. c. 17. **L. Caesare et**, i.e. 64 B.C.

l. 28. **necessitudo.** In the sense of 'necessitas,' as 21. 3; 33. 5, etc. A. Gellius (13. 3) refers to a like usage 'in libris veterum,' and illustrates from one of J. Caesar's speeches the less frequent use of 'necessitas' for 'necessitudo,' to which may be added an example from Cicero pro Sulla 1. 2. Sallust has an affection for the ending *-udo*, as in 'claritudo,' 'lassitudo.'

l. 29. **P. Lentulus** had been consul in 71 B.C., but was expelled from the Senate with many others in the following year for immorality. To regain his rank he stood again for the praetorship and was elected in 63 B.C. Plutarch gives an absurd story (Cic. 17) to account for his nickname 'Sura,' 'calf of the leg,' which is also found in other families. The name Sulla is probably only a diminutive of Sura.

l. 30. **L. Cassius** had been praetor in 66 B.C., and was candidate for the consulship in 63 B.C. He was thought too lethargic to be dangerous. Cf. Cic. Cat. 3. 3, 16, 'nec P. Lentuli somnium, nec L. Cassii adipem;' also Asconius on Cic. in Toga Candida, 'Cassium qui iners ac stolidus tum magis quam improbus videretur.'

C. Cethegus. Cicero speaks of his 'furiosa temeritas' and of his personal violence in earlier days to L. Metellus Pius (pro Sulla 25. 70).

l. 31. **Sullae.** The singular occurs in a like case of apposition, Jug. 42. 1, 'Tiberius et Caius Gracchus.' The P. Sulla is referred to by Cicero as a distinct personage from the degraded consul of 65 B.C. (pro Sulla 2. 6).

L. Vargunteius. Only known as prosecuted before 'de ambitu,' and defended by the orator Hortensius (Cic. pro Sulla 2. 6).

P. 58, l. 1. **coloniis.** The Roman colonies were at first garrisons of citizens permanently quartered on frontier lands recently annexed, or at strategic points which commanded the great roads and rivers. The Gracchi turned them into a provision for the landless poor of Rome among whom the State domains were parcelled out; Marius and Sulla and other generals resorted to them as a system of pensioning their veterans.

municipiis. This word seems to have originally denoted a group or community of Italians who had the civil rights but not the political privileges of Roman citizens, but gradually all towns of this class were included in the Tribes and became Roman boroughs, while their freemen became Roman burgesses, retaining large rights of local self-government, but enjoying complete equality with the inhabitants of Rome. Festus gives various definitions which indicate different stages of transition.

domi nobiles. Of families, members of which had served in high

office in their own towns. Curule honour and not patrician birth had long been the distinguishing feature of the Roman 'nobilitas.'

l. 6. **vivere copia.** More commonly with gerund, as Verg. Aen. 1. 520, 'coram data copia fandi.'

l. 8. **M. Licinium Crassum,** whose career justified the nickname of *Dives*, which had been for two centuries in his family. After narrowly escaping with his life from the massacres of the Marian party in 87 B.C., he did good service in the camp of Sulla, as afterwards in the war with the gladiators of Spartacus. He bought up the lands of the victims of the proscriptions, and amassed vast wealth by speculations in skilled slave labour, in house property, and fire brigades and mines This gave him weight with the moneyed aristocracy; embarrassed nobles came to him to satisfy their pressing creditors, or pay their expenses in criminal trials or elections. Such wide-spread connexions, together with his restless energy and talents for intrigue, enabled him at times to balance the influence of Pompeius or of Caesar with the society of Rome.

l. 9. **invisus ipsi.** They had been rivals in early days in the camp of Sulla; still more as commanders in the war with Spartacus, in which Pompeius claimed the credit of the final victory, though the decisive battle had been won by Crassus. They were colleagues in the consulship in 70 B.C., but their reconciliation was hollow and short-lived, and the successes of Pompeius in the East stirred afresh the jealous fears of Crassus.

magnum exercitum. The bill of Manilius in 66 B.C. had made Pompeius commander-in-chief in the place of the existing generals in the provinces of Asia, Cilicia and Bithynia, and given him unlimited powers to finish the war with Mithridates and reduce the Eastern world to submission. It seemed unlikely that he would be content to disband his army and retire into private life after lording it among the subject-races.

l. 14. **c. 18. quis.** The better MSS. have 'quibus' here as in 58. 16. In the Jug. there are many passages in which the form 'quis' is well attested, as 7. 7; 13. 6, etc.

de qua. Agreeing with the subst. 'coniuratione' implied in the verb 'coniuravere.' Cf. other cases of constr. 'ad sensum,' 51. 42, and Jug. 18. 9.

l. 15. **P. Autronius** Paetus was a school-fellow and early intimate of Cicero, who gives him however a very bad character for wanton words and deeds of violence; 'quem solitum esse scimus . . . caedem facere vicinorum, spoliare fana sociorum, vi conatum et armis disturbare iudicia' (pro Sulla 25. 71).

P. Cornelius Sulla enriched himself by the confiscations of his

kinsman, the great dictator, as afterwards under J. Caesar. He probably took a leading part in the first conspiracy (*vide* Introduction, p. 16), and was prosecuted for it in 62 B.C., but was defended by Cicero himself, who had borrowed money from him to buy a house on the Palatine, if we are to believe the gossip reported by A. Gellius 12. 12, 2.

designati consules. 'The consuls elect' who had not yet entered on office, as the elections were held some time before the magistrates' term of office had expired.

l. 16. **legibus ambitus.** These were passed in order to put down corrupt practices at the elections, and the technical name appears as early as the Lex Paetelia de ambitu of 358 B.C. After various attempts to check bribery had proved futile, the stringent Lex Calpurnia of 67 B.C. provided that the electioneering agents should be held responsible, while their principals, if found guilty, forfeited their rank, and even the power to regain it by a re-election to office.

interrogati. The 'interrogatio' was an early stage in a criminal trial. After the 'nominis delatio' by the prosecutor, and the 'inscriptio' on the formal list of the magistrate, the accused ('reus') was required to appear before the praetor, and answer to the question 'Guilty or not guilty,' which was put according to the technical forms prescribed by the special law under which he was prosecuted, which defined the crime in question. Hence the word is commonly coupled with a definite law as 'legibus ambitus,' though in later Latin, as in Tacitus 13. 14, 2, 'lege' is omitted.

poenas dederant. They were found guilty under the Calpurnian law, the penalty of which was degradation from their consular rank, and the forfeiture of the right of holding public office. Autronius is said to have used violence at the trial. Cf. Cic. pro Sulla 5. 15, 'ille ambitu iudicium tollere ac disturbare conflato voluit gladiatorum ac fugitivorum tumultu.'

l. 17. **repetundarum.** Cf. note on 49. 2.

reus. At this trial Cicero had some thought of defending Catiline (Att. 1. 2).

l. 18. **quod intra . . . nequiverit.** This passage is regarded by Dietsch as an interpolated gloss, since it appears from Cicero 'in Toga Candida' and Asconius that the consul L. Tullus hearing of Catiline's candidature sought advice on the question whether votes should be disallowed if tendered for him, and that Catiline desisted in consequence from his attempt. 'Nequiverat,' though not the reading of the best MSS., is much to be preferred as the regular construction. It is more natural to make the dependent clause state a matter of fact rather than an impression in the mind of the magistrate. It seems that an impending prosecution was not an absolute bar to a candidature until the jury had been nominated ('sortitio

iudicum'), but that the presiding magistrate had discretionary power in the matter. M. Aemilius Scaurus, though prosecuted for a like offence in 54 B.C., was still accepted as a candidate, probably because the senate did not oppose him as it did Catiline. Cf. Asconius, p. 19. The 'legitumi dies' were the three weeks of the old calendar, or the 'trinundinum.' If the 'post paulo' be correct, Catiline must have intended to stand at the renewal of the elections when the consuls designate had forfeited their claims. Cf. Cic. pro Sulla 24. 68.

l. 19. **erat eodem tempore** is somewhat weak, but there is no MS. authority for the 'Romae' which Dietsch would insert after the analogy of 21. 3, and Jug. 35. 1; 65. 1.

l. 23. **in Capitolio.** The new consuls entering on office went in state to the temple on the Capitol to offer sacrifice on that day.

l. 24. **ipsi fascibus conreptis.** Yet Cicero, Livy and Suetonius imply that P. Sulla was the intended consul, not Catiline.

l. 25. **duas Hispanias,** i. e. H. 'citerior' and 'ulterior,' for the government of which two praetors had been regularly appointed since 197 B.C. The boundary between them was the Saltus Castulonensis, and Carthago Nova was the chief town of the former, Corduba of the latter. The subdivision of H. ulterior into Baetica and Lusitania took place under Augustus.

l. 26. **ea re cognita.** There is some difficulty in believing that a conspiracy, the details of which had been divulged, should be simply deferred for a short time, as also in there being no connection between 'cognita' and the subject to 'transtulerant.' Dietsch therefore infers that a passage has dropped out of the text, such as the statement of Dion Cass. 36. 27, that the two consuls went to the Capitol attended by a body-guard, which showed the conspirators that the plot was known. It was believed that attempts had been also made to corrupt the fleet of L. Gellius, the legate of Pompeius, which was cruising off Etruria (cf. Cic. post Red. ad Pop. 7. 17).

l. 27. **transtulerant.** This use of the pluperf. is commoner with Sallust than with other writers. Cf. 24. 1; 56. 2; Jug. 64. 4. It breaks the continuity of the narrative, and introduces a statement as an afterthought.

l. 29. **pro curia.** Priscian 14, 'Sallustius in Catilina pro curia dixit pro, ante curiam.' Cf. Cic. Phil. 3. 11, 'sedens pro aede Castoris dixit.' Cf. note on Jug. 53. 1.

post conditam, etc. Possibly imitated by Tacitus, Hist. 3. 72, 1, 'id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum.'

l. 30. **patratum.** A verb frequently occurring in Sallust, though very rare in Cicero, and not at all found in Caesar.

l. 31. **ea res.** One of the authorities of Suetonius (J. Caesar 8) stated that Crassus failed to appear, and that Caesar did not give the expected signal of letting his toga drop from his shoulder.

l. 32. c. 19. **quaestor pro praetore.** As fresh provinces were conquered more praetors were elected in early times to govern them, but after Sulla no praetor left Rome on foreign service till his second year of office, when he served as 'pro praetore,' that being henceforward the usual title of a provincial governor, short of the highest rank. The quaestor accompanied the general in the field or the governor in a province as paymaster and head of the commissariat. He ranked as next in command, and stepped into the place of an absent or deceased governor. Towards the end of the Republic, as the administrative work became more varied, there was a difficulty in providing for occasional vacancies, and quaestors were at times appointed—as in this case—to independent command, or sent on a special commission, like Cato to Cyprus, with the rank of pro-praetor ('quaestor cum iure praetorio,' Vell. 2. 45, 4). By a further extension under the Empire even subordinate officials in a senatorian province bore the title.

l. 33. **missus est.** Cicero speaks in his speech 'in Toga Candida' of this mission as part of a design: 'Hispaniensi pugiunculo nervos reipublicae incidere.'

infestum inimicum. Cicero prefers to connect these words with a copula, but this reading is better supported and more vigorous.

P. 59, l. 1. **senatus provinciam dederat.** It rested with the senate to determine which of the provinces should be consular and which praetorian, and the consuls and praetors then took those which fell to them by lot or arrangement. When further provision had to be made the senate made the appointment to a specified province.

l. 2. **foedum.** Corssen connects this word with 'fumus,' 'funus,' 'faetere,' 'suffire,' from a root *fu=fov*, and derives the idea of ugliness and dirt from that of smoke, as Hor. Od. 3. 6, 4, 'foeda nigro simulacra fumo.'

a re publica procul. Less appropriate than in 4. 1, as Piso was removed only from the centre of political life.

l. 3. **simul.** Cf. 20. 3; Jug. 4. 1.

boni. 'Good' conservative members of the aristocracy who feared a popular movement headed by Pompeius. The confusion of moral and political associations is frequent in the language of party.

l. 4. **praesidium in eo.** To balance the power of Pompeius in the East they may have hoped to secure a hold upon the West, and to raise armies on which they could depend.

l. 5. **in provincia.** Most MSS have 'provinciam,' but Asconius and Dion Cassius state that Piso was slain in his province.

l. 7. **sunt qui dicant.** Many MSS. have 'dicunt,' which is perhaps to be preferred, as it accords best with the usage of Sallust, who not only has the indic. where a definite subject is prefixed, as 'legati a Boccho veniunt qui . . . petivere' (Jug. 102. 2), but also 'fuere conplures qui . . . profecti sunt' (Cat. 39. 5), and constantly with 'quippe qui' and often 'qui' alone in a causal sense. Horace too prefers the indic., but prose writers far oftener use the subjunctive.

l. 8. **Cn. Pompei.** These, with the following words, make a hexameter, one of the many examples which may be found by the curious in Latin prose. Cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 1, 1.

l. 9. **clientis.** Probably they had served under him in the war against Sertorius, like the 'beneficiarii' of Caesar, B. Civ. 1. 75, 2, 'Petreius . . . barbarisque equitibus paucis, beneficiariis suis, quos suae custodiae causa habere consuerat.'

voluntate eius. Pompeius was too much engaged in Asia with questions of great moment to have thought to give to Piso, or indeed time to send instructions to his friends in Spain.

l. 10. **numquam.** Yet the murder of Hasdrubal was a like case (Livy 21. 2, 6), and Caesar says at Hispalis 'populi Romani magistratibus sacrosanctis manus semel atque saepius attulistis' (De Bell. Hisp. 42. 4).

l. 11. **in medio relinquemus.** Velleius uses the phrase 2. 48, 4, while Tacitus varies it to 'in medium relinquam' (Germ. 46. 5).

l. 14. **c. 20. in rem,** 'to the point,' 'useful,' as Terent. Phorm. 2. 3, 9, 'quae in rem tuam sint ea velim facias mihi.' Tacitus extends the construction to 'in rem famamque videbatur' (Hist. 3. 8, 1).

l. 16. **arbitris.** Used in the same sense of 'intruders' or 'witnesses' by Livy with 'remotis' (7. 5, 3) and 'summotis' (22. 60, 3). The root *bit* is found in 'bito' = 'go' (Plautus), and 'bitienses' 'wanderers' (Festus).

l. 18. **spectata.** Sallust connects a participle in the neut. plur. with two feminine nouns (Jug. 38. 8; 52. 4; 68. 1); but not universally, for Jug. 70. 2, 'gloria opesque inventae;' 73. 6, 'res fidesque sitae;' where an abstract and concrete term are combined.

l. 19. **cecidisset.** More commonly 'accidisset.'

l. 20. **per ignaviam,** 'with the help of cowards.' For the frequent use of the abstract for the concrete, cf. 24. 4 and Cic. Cat. 2. 11, 25.

l. 21. **multis et magnis.** Sallust commonly connects by a copula 'multus' and a following predicate. 'magnis,' 'critical.'

tempestatibus. The use of this plur. for 'tempora' is rare and archaic, though the sing. occurs oftener.

l. 23. **pulch. facinus.** Copied possibly by Tacitus, Hist. 1. 44, 2, 'pulchrum et memorabile facinus.'

l. 25. **idem velle, etc.** Transferred by Seneca (Ep. 20) into a defini-

tion of wisdom: 'Quid est sapientia? semper idem velle atque idem nolle.' Cf. Jug. 31. 14.

l. 27. **animus accenditur.** Quintilian remarks on this passage, 'Sic Catilina apud Sallust loquitur ut rem sceleratissimam non malitia, sed indignatione videatur audere' (3. 8, 45).

l. 28. **condicio.** Dietsch spells this word 'condi*t*io' with the best MSS., but the inscriptions leave no doubt that the right form is with a *c*, as with 'dicio,' both coming from a root *dic-*, found in 'dicere,' 'digitus,' 'iudex.'

l. 29. **vindicamus in lib.**, 'take up arms to assert our freedom.' Cf. in the Monum. Ancyr. of Augustus, 'rempublicam in libertatem vindicavi.'

l. 31. **tetrarchae.** Used generally for 'petty princes,' the more special meaning of the ruler of a fourth of a country, as of Palestine, having been soon lost sight of. Cf. Tac. Ann. 15. 25, 6, 'scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque et procuratoribus.'

vectigales strictly implies the payment of tribute in kind or in a fixed proportion of the produce of the land as tithes, while the 'stipendiariae civitates' paid a definite amount.

populi nationes. The former defined by a common government, as a *πόλις* or 'civitas,' the latter by a unity of language or race, and as such the wider term where republican and federal institutions prevailed, as in early Italy.

l. 32. **strenui boni,** etc. For this passage, of which various readings occur in the MSS., Jordan proposes 'boni malique nobiles atque ignobiles,' as in Aur. Victor Caes. 24. 9, a writer who frequently borrows phrases of Sallust. He thinks 'strenui' a gloss on 'boni,' while 'malique' dropped out of the text (Hermes 1. 234). Wagner notes that 'boni' was more probably a marginal explanation of 'strenui,' and thinks that 'ignavi' is the lost word of contrast (Rh. Mus. 1868, p. 701). Either conjecture would certainly be an improvement on the text.

l. 33. **volgus fuimus.** Cf. Hor. Ep. 1. 2, 27, 'Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati.' The language is absurd as addressed to men, some of whom were of noble family and had held high office or aspired to it.

P. 60, l. 5. **per virtutem,** 'bravely,' as in a passage perhaps suggested by it (Tac. Hist. 3. 66, 7), 'id solum referre, novissimum spiritum per ludibrium et contumelias effundant, an per virtutem.'

l. 7. **in manu vobis.** The best MSS. have 'nobis' as well as Priscian, 2. 364, and throughout his speech Catiline identifies the cause of his party with himself (cf. 4, 'vobis eadem quae mihi'), and uses the first person plur. in contrast to 'illi,' except in the rhetorical appeals of sect. 9 and 14.

l. 9. **consenuerunt.** Used by a common metaphor for declining vigour, and as such applied to ideas like 'fama,' 'opes,' 'vitia,' 'laus,' 'pugna.' Nägelsbach, § 131, compares the similar use of 'tabescere.' The full form of the termination of the perfect is very rare in Sallust.

l. 10. **res,** 'action.' Cf. Livy 2. 65, 4, 'conclamant se ituros, clamoremque res est secuta.'

l. 12. **extruendo.** Fabri illustrates this by the phrases 'extruere focum lignis' for piling logs on the fire (Hor. Ep. 2. 43), and 'fora extruere' (Tac. Agr. 21. 1). Dietsch adopts the conjecture of Gronovius, 'extrudendo.'

l. 14. **amplius,** for 'plures,' as Jug. 80. 6.

continuare. So used by Livy with 'agros,' 34. 4.

larem familiarem. The guardian angel of the Roman creed, representing the moral and religious sanctions of domestic life, and connected, like the *θεὸς πατρῷος* of Greece, with the early worship of ancestral spirits. In the Aulularia of Plautus the 'lar familiaris' appears on the stage to explain the plot. It stands here for 'home.'

l. 15. **cum.** Sallust's preference for the indicative is illustrated by the frequency with which he uses it with this conjunction, while Livy and Caesar commonly avoid it.

toreumata. Such embossed plate as Cicero speaks of as the work of the artist Mentor (Verr. 2. 4, 18), 'per bona toreumata . . . Mentoris manu, summo artificio facta.'

l. 17. **trahunt vexant.** As though their wealth were gotten by plunder and force, not by fair means.

l. 19. **res, spes,** 'present' and 'future.' This jingling contrast occurs often; cf. 'ego iam aut rem aut ne spem quidem exspecto,' Cic. Att. 3. 22.

l. 20. **miseram animam,** 'paltry life.' Cf. Juv. 12. 57, 'I nunc et ventis animam committe.'

l. 24. **vel imperatore,** etc. Imitated probably by Tacitus, Hist. 4. 66, 2, 'seu me ducem, seu militem, mavultis.'

l. 27. **servire.** Sallust connects 'paratus' not only with an infin. but with 'ad' and a gerundive (31. 7), and with 'ut' (Jug. 91. 2).

l. 29. **c. 21. abunde erant.** Sallust extends the use of adverbs with 'esse' to the less common cases of 'abunde,' 'frustra,' 'obviam.'

P. 61, l. 1. **tabulas novas.** This, like the *χρεῶν ἀποκοπαί* of Greek Politics, was the ominous cry of the revolutionary hopes, when repudiation of private debts was to be sanctioned by the state.

proscriptionem. It was commonly believed that in the proscriptions of Sulla many were included in the published lists of the outlawed who had kept aloof from politics, and been singled out only for their wealth.

l. 1. **locupletium,** 'locuples' = 'agri plenus,' the participial ending being shortened as in 'damnas,' 'indiges.' The 'locupletes' originally were the landed proprietors of the five Servian classes.

l. 2. **sacerdotia.** In the more important priestly colleges the members used to fill up their vacancies by co-optation, but in the last century of the Republic the forms of popular election were resorted to. The higher offices were coveted for the political influence as well as the social dignity which they carried with them.

l. 3. **esse in Hispania.** Yet Piso was probably already dead (cf. Asconius 94. 3).

l. 4. **P. Sittium.** The career of this adventurer was a marked one. He was in Spain in 64 B. C., and afterwards in Mauretania, where he became financial agent to the king, negotiated loans, enlisted soldiers of fortune, and played a brilliant part as a condottiere in the tribal feuds of Africa. Finally he took the stronghold Cirta by a *coup de main* when the Numidian Juba was facing Julius Caesar in the field, and with the consent of the latter Sittius settled his soldiers on the lands around it after the type of a Roman colony.

l. 5. **C. Antonium,** distinguished by the cognomen of 'Hybrida,' from others of the family of the great orator Antonius. He had served in the ranks of Sulla and used his opportunities of plunder in the civil war and proscriptions. Expelled from the senate in consequence in 70 B. C., he was soon re-admitted and became the colleague of Cicero as praetor and consul. His subsequent career as governor of Macedonia to some extent justified the hopes of Catiline, though he was forced to take the field against him; cf. 59. 4.

l. 13. **ut petitionem suam.** As one at least of the accomplices named, L. Cassius Longinus, was also a candidate for the consulship, there is some absurdity in this direction, coupled with the hopes expressed in favour of Antonius.

l. 15. **c. 22. popularis.** Wölfflin (Philol. 1870, p. 147) remarks that Sallust uses this word in the sense of 'socius' in two other places of this treatise (24. 1; 52. 14), but not in his later works. He sees in it, as in the use of 'negotium' for 'res,' 'portare' for 'ferre,' and some of his so-called archaisms, the traces of the ruder style ('vulgärlatein') by which he was influenced most at first. The data and conclusions seem very questionable. Seneca (de Vita Beata, 13) writes 'invitis nostris popularibus' of his Stoic friends.

l. 16. **sanguinem.** The story is as fantastic as the wild fictions of Christian children murdered by Jews in their synagogues, often repeated in the Middle Ages, and revived of late in Hungary. It was a primitive custom in various countries to give solemnity or a more binding force to a compact by tasting blood, either of a victim or of the contracting

parties. Cf. Tacitus, of the Caucasian tribes (Ann. 12. 47, 3), 'id foedus arcanum habetur quasi mutuo cruore sacratum.' Herodotus says the like of the Medes (1. 74), and of the Scythians (4. 70).

pateris. Cf. Varro de L. L. 4, 'in poculis erant paterae, eo quod pateant, Latine ita dictae.... in sacrificando Deis hoc poculo magistratus dat Deo vinum.'

l. 17. **post execrationem.** The curses in the event of treachery or disobedience; cf. Liv. 10. 38, 5, 'iurare cogebant diro quodam carmine in execrationem capitis familiaeque et stirpis composito nisi isset in proelium quo imperatores duxissent.'

l. 19. **dictitare.** If this reading of the best MSS. be retained, it must be taken as a variation of the 'dicerent' above; but the historic infinitive seems quite out of place, and we may regard it with Ritschl (Rh. Mus. 1866, p. 317) as a foolish note of the margin. Wagner proposes 'eo dictitant rem fecisse' (Rh. Mus. 1878, p. 701); Wesenberg, 'idque eo (dictitare) fecisse,' believing that 'dictitare' grew out of a marginal note 'dictam rem' on 'id.'

inter se . . . alius alii. The idiomatic expression for reciprocal action as in Livy 35. 3, 4, for which later writers often used 'invicem.'

l. 21. **Ciceronis invidiam,** 'the odium against Cicero,' as Livy 22. 34, 'aliena invidia splendentem.'

l. 23. **pro magnitudine.** Cf. Jug. 14. 16; 42. 5.

l. 25. **c. 23. sed.** Used as in 25. 1, 'sed in eis erat Sempronia,' and 49. 1, to continue a narrative, without any suggestion of contrast.

l. 26. **flagitiis atque facinoribus,** 'passions and crimes.' For the distinction between the two, cf. Aug. de doctr. Chr. 3. 10, 'quod agit indomita cupiditas ad corrumpendum animum et corpus suum, flagitium vocatur. quod autem agit ut alteri noceat, facinus dicitur.'

l. 27. **probri,** 'disgraceful conduct;' cf. Cic. de Legg. 3. 3, 7, 'probrum in Senatu ne relinquunto.' The power of the Censors to strike unworthy names off the roll of the Senate was a high moral function in earlier days, but was abused for party ends at last, as possibly in the case of Sallust himself.

l. 28. **vanitas,** 'levity;' cf. Livy 1. 27, 1, 'vanum ingenium dictatoris.'

l. 33. **maria montisque.** Familiar exaggerations, as Terent. Phorm. 1. 2, 18, 'montis auri pollicens.'

P. 62, l. 4. **sublato auctore.** 'Withholding the name of her informant,' as Cic. Ep. ad Att. 2. 24, 'Caepionem de oratione sua sustulit.'

l. 5. **ea res.** Yet Cicero was known only as a fluent speaker, not as a man of energy for a time of danger. It is more probable that votes were withdrawn from Catiline in consequence of the rumoured designs,

than that Cicero was deliberately put forward as a defender of the state. Sallust, however, accepts here Cicero's own version of the story, though he is not credited with much liking for the friend of Milo, his own bitter enemy.

l. 9. **homo novos.** Cf. Cic. in Pisonem, 1. 2, 'Omnes honores populus Romanus mihi ipsi, homini novo, detulit. Nam tu (Piso) cum quaestor es factus, etiam qui te nunquam viderant, tamen illum honorem nomini mandabant tuo.'

l. 11. c. 24. **declarantur.** The result of the election was announced by a crier, Cic. pro Milone 35. 96, 'Meminit etiam sibi vocem praeconis modo defuisse . . . populi vero cunctis suffragiis . . . se consulem declaratum.'

l. 15. **fide sumptam mutuam,** 'borrowed on his friends' credit;' as Cic. pro Flacco, 20. 46, 'pecuniam sumpsit mutuam a Sex. Stola . . . . qui tamen credidit P. Fulvii Veratii fide.' Catiline is represented as spending freely and enjoying ample credit for a ruined prodigal.

Manlium, called by Plutarch a distinguished veteran in Sulla's army, who came to Rome to use his influence at the elections for Catiline, and was then sent back to Etruria; cf. 27. 1.

l. 16. **princeps,** 'was the first to move;' cf. Caes. B. G. 7. 2, 1, 'principes se ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur.'

l. 21. **servitia.** Cf. note on 'per ignaviam,' 20. 2.

l. 22. **sollicitare.** This is not consistent with the reported refusal of Catiline to enlist slaves in his insurrectionary force, or with the advice contained in the letter of Lentulus, 44. 5.

l. 25. c. 25. **viro.** This was Decimus Junius Brutus, consul 77 B.C.; her son was the D. Brutus prominent among the murderers of Caesar.

l. 26. **psallere saltare.** Scipio Africanus complained a century before that these accomplishments were growing fashionable in Roman society, and that the dancing schools were thronged by children of both sexes, 'cum sambuca psalterioque eunt in ludum histrionum; discunt cantare; quae maiores nostri ingenuis probro ducier voluerunt' (Macrobius, Sat. 2. 10).

quam necesse est probae. Cf. Tac. Ann. 5. 1, 5, 'comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum;' and Hist. 3. 62, 3, 'mimos actitavit scite magis quam probe.'

l. 28. **fuit,** attracted to the number of the noun in apposition with the subject of the sentence, as Jug. 74. 3, 'Numidas in omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.'

l. 29. **haud facile d.,** borrowed possibly by Livy, 21. 4, 3, 'haud facile discerneres utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset.'

l. 33. **haud absurdum.** So Tac. Ann. 13. 45, 2, 'comis nec absurdum ingenium.'

posse. This use of the historic infinitive, repeated Jug. 67. 2; 69. 2, is unusual, as it applies rather to cases of strong feeling or vigorous action than to mere possibility or latent power ('posse').

P. 63, l. 1. **iocum movere,** 'bandy jests.'

l. 7. **c. 26. dolus,** originally used in good or bad sense indifferently, as the phrase 'dolus malus' of old law implies.

l. 11. **pactione provinciae,** i. e. Macedonia, which Antonius coveted for its promise of booty and an easy triumph over border tribes, and Cicero was ready to relinquish though it had fallen to his lot. It rested with the Senate to determine which should be the consular provinces for each year, and the incoming consuls drew lots for them or arranged between themselves at the beginning of their term of office in Rome, more than a year therefore before they left for their command in the province. The malevolent gossip of Rome would have it that Cicero intended to profit by the extortionate action of Antonius, and sent his freedman Hilarus to divide the spoil with the proconsul. Cicero's own language on the subject in his letters is so ambiguous that it is not easy to clear him of the charge.

l. 12. **clientium,** especially knights of Reate whom Cicero mentions.

l. 13. **dies comitiorum.** D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena were elected. The speech of Cicero in behalf of the latter gives many details as to the intrigues and party passions of the time.

l. 14. **quas .... fecerat.** This sentence is regarded by some critics as an interpolation, as a mere repetition of 'omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni' of § 2. Others would reject 'consulibus,' as there was no motive for designs against Antonius.

l. 15. **prospere** = 'pro-spe-re,' 'according to hope,' as 'asper' = 'hopeless,' compounded after the analogy of proconsul, promagister; Corssen 1. 480.

l. 16. **aspera foedaque.** An adjective is often coupled with the verb, as part of the predicate, where we should use an adverb; cf. 52. 29, 'vigilando agundo bene consulundo prospera omnia cedunt.'

l. 18. **c. 27. Camertem,** a native of the Umbrian town Camerinum, which was near the scene of the outbreak; cf. Cic. pro Sull. 19. 53, 'hoc tempore . . . ubi fuit Sulla? . . . num in agro Camerti, Piceno, Gallico, quas in oras maxime quasi morbus quidam illius furoris pervaserat.'

l. 19. **dimisit.** The agents mentioned were probably old soldiers who had come to Rome to use their influence for Catiline at the elections, and afterwards returned to rouse to arms the veterans of Sulla who were dispersed in the military colonies.

l. 22. **armatis hominibus,** an instrumental abl., as Jug. 59. 3; 94. 3, where the general uses his men as instruments in military operations.

l. 23. **cum telo esse**, forbidden by the Twelve Tables, as afterwards by the Lex Cornelia; cf. Cic. pro Milone 4. 11, 'ipsa lex esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat.' It marks a contrast between the republican society of Greece and Rome, and the feudal life of mediaeval Europe.

alios for 'ceteros;' as Jug. 58. 3, 'locum cepere paulo quam alii editiorem;' Jug. 10. 2; 63. 6.

l. 25. **postremo.** As the facts described here and down to 28. 3 certainly belong to a later date (*vide* Introduction, p. 21), it has been proposed to regard their insertion here as a mistake of the copyists of the MSS., and to replace them after 31. 4, where they may have come originally. The following clause, however (31. 5), would come very abruptly after the account of the failure of the assassins.

l. 26. **intempesta nocte.** Cf. Macrob. Sat. 1. 3, 'ab hoc tempore prima fax dicitur; deinde concubia; et deinde intempesta, quae non habet idoneum tempus rebus gerendis.'

l. 27. **per.** For this sense Jordan compares 44. 1, and 'acta fratr. Arv.' 224, 'in luco . . . convenerunt per C. Porcium Priscum.' Wirz, however, remarks that the 'ibique' following points to 'ad' instead of 'per.'

ibique. The house of Laeca was in the street called 'inter falcarios,' from the sickle-makers who once lived there. Cf. Cic. pro Sulla, 18. 52.

l. 33. **c. 28. C. Cornelius.** Plutarch names Marcius and Cethegus, but Appian, Lentulus and Cethegus.

P. 64, l. 1. **L. Vargunteius senator.** Cicero (in Cat. 1. 4, 9) speaks of the design of two 'equites Romani.'

l. 2. **paulo post . . salutatum.** Cf. Juv. 3. 127, 'Si curet nocte togatus | currere quum Praetor lictorem inpellat et ire | praecipitem iubeat, dudum vigilantibus orbis | ne prior Albinam aut Modiam collega salutet.'

sicuti, a very rare use with the supine.

l. 3. **suae**, referring not to the grammatical but to the logical subject, as Caesar, B. C. 3. 24, 3, 'quadriremem cum remigibus defensoribusque suis ceperunt.'

l. 6. **ianua prohibiti.** Cf. A. Gell. 16. 5, 8, 'Qui domos amplas antiquitus faciebant, locum ante ianuam relinquebant, qui inter fores domus et viam medius esset. In eo loco qui dominum eius domus salutatum venerant, priusquam admitterentur, consistebant.'

l. 8. **egestate ac dolore.** The horrors of the civil wars had lasted long in Etruria. Volaterra was the last town to submit to Sulla after a siege of two years, and its territory, like that of Arretium, was forfeited, though it does not appear to have been parcelled out. But the obstinate struggle must have caused widespread ruin.

l. 9. **Sullae dominatione.** The despotic will of Sulla had confiscated much of the land in Etruria, where the adherents of the Marian party had been numerous.

l. 10. **latrones.** Etruria had been largely cultivated by slaves, who probably escaped and took to brigandage in troubled times.

l. 12. **Sullanis coloniis.** Cf. Cic. Cat. 2. 9, 20, 'hi sunt coloni qui se in insperatis repentinisque pecuniis sumtuosius insolentiusque iactarunt.'

l. 14. **c. 29. ancipiti malo,** i.e. dangers within and without the city; cf. 'ancipitem terrorem intra extraque munitiones,' Caesar, B. C. 3. 72, 2.

l. 15. **privato consilio.** Cicero had relied so far only on private informants and the help of friends. There was no adequate police force for the defence of the city at the disposal of the magistrates, and further powers were required to authorize military measures.

l. 16. **satis conpertum.** Sallust omits the strongest grounds for asking for fuller powers—the plans concerted in the house of Laeca, according to his own account which seems incorrect, and the attempt to assassinate himself. But Plutarch tells us of warning letters sent to Crassus, and brought by him to Cicero, who laid them before the senate, and confirmed them by a full description of the plans, naming even the day fixed for the rising (Cic. Cat. 1. 3, 7, Plut. Crass. 13). It was the fulness of his knowledge rather than its meagreness that impressed the senate and caused the final vote.

l. 17. **exagitatam.** This reading, if correct, requires the word to be taken in an unusual sense, and it would be better if we could have 'agitatam' as proposed by Nipperdey (Rh. Mus. 1874, p. 204), or 'exagitatum' to refer to 'senatum' as suggested by Kortte, but the MSS. do not warrant either change.

l. 18. **quod plerumque in atroci negotio.** What Caesar calls 'illud extremum atque ultimum senatusconsultum, quo nisi paene in ipso urbis incendio atque in desperatione omnium salutis, latorum audacia nunquam ante descensum est,' B. C. 1. 5, 3.

l. 20. **ea potestas.** This commission is otherwise expressed by 'rempublicam defendendam dare,' or 'operam darent ut imperium populi Romani maiestasque conservaretur.' It may be illustrated by the modern analogies of declaring martial law, or a state of siege, or reading the riot act, or suspending the 'habeas corpus' act. Its most striking features were the exercise of the military 'imperium' within the city walls, and the suspension of the right of appeal ('provocatio') to the popular assembly through the tribunes.

more Romano. It is probable that this usage dates only from the times of the Gracchi. In earlier days the appointment of a dictator

was the constitutional mode of dealing with a political crisis, but this fell into disuse after the Second Punic War. In 133 the consul Mucius Scaevola, who was an eminent jurist, declined to exercise extraordinary powers at the desire of the senate to put down the elder Gracchus, but the consuls of 132 and 121 accepted them, and the example was often followed in the later civil struggles, when the formula frequently recurs. Its insertion in Livy (3. 4, 13; 6. 19, 3) is due probably to the attempt of the oligarchic party to forge earlier precedents for their later claims. The right was never conceded by the popular leaders, and the prosecution of P. Popillius and L. Opimius in the period of the Gracchi, and of C. Rabirius in 63, made the protest effective.

l. 21. **magistratui.** 'Consules praetores tribuni plebis quique pro consulibus' are included in the formula given by Caesar, B. C. 1. 5, 3.

l. 23. **iudicium summum,** i. e. suspending the Lex Valeria which enforced the 'ius provocationis' and the Lex Sempronia 'ne de capite civium Romanorum iniussu populi iudicaretur.'

l. 24. **nullius.** But the levying soldiers did not directly depend upon a 'iussus populi,' and a Caesarian like Sallust would hardly have allowed with an 'aliter' that the senate could constitutionally confer all these powers 'sine iussu.' The whole paragraph therefore is of doubtful character.

l. 25. **c. 30. in senatu litteras recitavit.** This was done either at the invitation of the presiding consul, or by virtue of the general right of the senators to wander from the question in debate ('egredi relationem').

l. 28. **alii portenta.** Livy often fills half a chapter with the long list of portents which were said to have occurred at critical times. Solemn forms of prayer and offerings were provided in the pontifical books to meet these warnings. The slighting way in which they are here referred to indicates perhaps a less religious temper of mind, though he speaks of the 'deos neglegere' (10. 4) as a sign of national decline.

l. 30. **Capuae.** This was a famous training school for gladiators for use in the great amphitheatre of the town, and outbreaks were likely to occur among that class.

l. 31. **senati.** For this old form of the gen., cf. Ritschl proem. de titulo Aletr. p. 8: 'longe longeque latius per sextum septimumque saeculum altera terminatio (i) patuit: qua et Plautus usus est constanter in *quaesti tumulti victi senati sumpti gemiti* et Ennius *strepiti tumulti* declinans; Pacuvius *flucti aesti parti soniti;* Cato *fructi;* Sisenna *senati soniti;* Salustius *tumulti soniti.*

decreto. Cf. note on 53. 1.

Q. Marcius Rex, consul in 68 B.C. and afterwards proconsul in

Cilicia, had rendered little service to Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, and was superseded by the appointment of Pompeius as commander-in-chief in Asia.

Q. Metellus. The surname of Creticus had been given in mockery to M. Antonius who had failed to conquer Crete, but Metellus had more claim to the title. After an obstinate war in 68 B.C. and the next year he reduced the island to submission; but Pompeius claimed the laurels, as his powers conferred by the Gabinian bill extended over the whole Mediterranean. Metellus returned in 66, but did not enter Rome in state till 62, and even then had to forego the presence of the chief prisoners who graced the triumph of Pompeius.

l. 32. **ad urbem imperatores.** Governors, who sought a triumph on their return from their provinces, waited outside the walls till the question was decided, as they could not enter without laying down the 'imperium.' Cf. Pseudo Ascon. ad Cic. Verr. 2. 17, 'omnis magistratus qui intra muranus non est nec urbanus etiamsi administrator eius Romae est ad urbem dicitur.'

l. 33. **calumnia,** 'chicanery.' The root is found in 'calvere,' 'carina,' 'incilare,' 'incolumis,' *κολούω*, and the termination in 'autumnus,' 'aerumna,' 'columna,' etc. (Corssen, 2. 172). The term is applied in Roman law to the vexatious or fraudulent abuse of legal forms (Gaii Inst. 4. 178). Pompeius was technically in the right, as the victory won by a subordinate commander went to swell the triumph of the chief, and by the Gabinian and Manilian bills he superseded all at the seat of war.

P. 65, l. 1. **honesta atque inhonesta vendere.** Imitated probably by Tac. Ann. 2. 38, 7, 'quibus omnia principum, honesta atque inhonesta, laudare mos est.' Cf. Jug. 31. 12.

l. 2. **Capuam.** It appears from Cicero that his friend the quaestor P. Sestius was also sent to Capua on an independent mission, but why it is hard to say (pro Sestio 4. 9).

Q. Metellus Celer. Plutarch (Cic. 16) says that he was made general-in-chief in the field, and Cicero's language (ad Fam. 5. 2, 1) is in harmony with this. Even in Sallust Q. Marcius Rex takes a very subordinate place. Metellus Celer had returned before Pompeius from the campaigns in the East, and took a decided line as a partisan of the oligarchy. This year he had saved Rabirius from the vengeance of the popular party by the trick of removing the flag from the Janiculum and so dissolving the assembly. As consul in 60 he was lodged in prison by the tribune Flavius for his uncompromising opposition to an agrarian bill.

l. 3. **eisque permissum.** These extraordinary appointments were made as in the crisis of a 'tumultus,' and did not affect the claim of the

magistrates to proceed afterwards in regular course to administer their 'provinciae.' It was probably rather a command than a permission, as Cicero a few days afterwards speaks as a certainty of 'hoc dilectu quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit' (Cic. Cat. 2. 3, 5).

l. 6. **praemium.** From 'prae' (or 'prai') 'emere,' like 'praetor' = 'prae-itor,' 'praeda' from 'prae-henda,' 'praebere' from 'prae-hibere,' 'praedes' from 'prae-vides' (Corssen, 2. 715).

l. 8. **familiae.** Extended from the members of a household under the control of a 'paterfamilias' to a gang of slaves kept for exhibition, or as armed retainers in the service of the nobles. There was obvious danger of their employment in a riot. Cf. Caesar, B. C. 1. 15, 5, 'gladiatores . . . circum familiares conventus Campaniae custodiae causa distribuit.'

Capuam. There is an obvious inconsistency in sending gladiators to Capua at the very time when there were rumours of servile insurrection in that neighbourhood. Probably Sallust has confused in this chapter what passed at different times.

l. 10. **vigiliae.** A regular force of watchmen did not exist at Rome till it was organised by Augustus.

minores magistratus. These were technically all below the rank of consul, praetor, and censor, and they were said to have only 'minora auspicia,' but here the 'triumviri nocturni' and the 'aediles' would be specially concerned.

l. 16. **c. 31. rei publicae magnitudine.** This causal abl. must qualify 'insolitus,' but the constr. is unusual, and it has therefore been proposed to insert the prep. 'in' before 'rei publicae,' or to omit 'publicae.'

l. 22. **lege Plautia.** Cf. 18. 2. The Lex Plautia de vi is mentioned here for the first time in history, but P. Clodius and others were afterwards prosecuted under it. Probably it was brought forward by M. Plautius Silvanus in 89 B.C., and provided for prosecution before the jury courts of officials and senators only, if guilty of violence or breach of peace.

interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Cf. note on 18. 2. The question was however put by the magistrate, not by the prosecutor, but the inaccuracy is probably due only to brevity of expression (Zumpt, Criminalprocess, 174).

l. 24. **sicut.** Jordan compares the use of this in 38. 3; 53. 5. Some prefer to read 'si' after good MSS.

in senatum. The meeting had been specially convened by the consul Cicero. Cf. Cic. in Cat. 2. 6, 12, 'senatum in aedem Iovis Statoris vocavi.'

l. 27. **scriptam edidit.** As the first Catilinarian oration. Cicero,

like earlier orators, often wrote out his speeches for publication after their delivery, and they were at times of course much altered in the process.

l. 30. **ortum.** This verb is used by Sallust with the prep. 'ex' in all other passages. Cf. 6. 3; 51. 27.

l. 31. **patricio homini.** The patricians or descendants of the primitive freemen of early Rome were now a very small proportion even of the nobles. It has been calculated that of 415 known members of the senate of 55 B.C., only 43 were patricians (Willems, Sénat, 1. 555). Attempts to recruit their numbers were made by Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Claudius. Cf. Tac. Ann. 11. 25, 3, 'paucis iam reliquis familiarum quas Romulus maiorum et L. Brutus minorum gentium appellaverant, exhaustis etiam quas dictator Caesar lege Cassia, et princeps Augustus lege Saenia, sublegere.'

l. 32 **benificia.** An ancestor had done good service in the Second Punic War, fighting on after receiving two-and-twenty wounds (Pliny, N. H. 7. 29). Another led the cavalry in the war with Perseus (Liv. 44. 40).

in plebem Romanam. The patrician Catiline was not likely to boast before the senate of what his ancestors had done for the plebs in particular. The genuine reading may be 'in populum Romanum,' the initials of which alone might be written in the earliest MSS. or 'in rem publicam' (R. P.).

P. 66, l. 1. inquilinus. A resident alien, like the Greek *μέτοικος*. It is of course inaccurately used of Cicero, as the natives of Arpinum had the full franchise. 'Inquilinus' from 'incola,' as 'esquilinus' from 'ex-cola' (Corssen, 2. 1024).

civis. Rejected with some reason by Dietsch as unusual with 'inquilinus' and 'urbis Romae.'

l. 2. **maledicta.** But Cicero says, 'A nobis homo audacissimus Catilina in senatu accusatus obmutuit' (Orat. 37. 129). The taunt at Cicero above seems to have been really used before the election in 64.

l. 5. **ruina restinguam.** This threat of Catiline was addressed to Cato according to Cicero, pro Murena 25. 5, 'quum Catoni respondisset, si quod esset in fortunas suas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua sed ruina restincturum.'

c. 32. **curia.** Derived, according to Corssen (1. 354), not from 'co-viria' (Pott), or *κυρία* (Lange), but from a root *sku-* = 'cover' (whence 'cutis,' *κύτος*, *καυσία*, 'causa,' 'scutum,' 'cura'), and therefore meaning 'house, its older form being 'cusia.' The senate was at this time sitting in the temple of Jupiter Stator in the Via Sacra (Cic. Cat. 1. 5, 11), not in the Curia Hostilia, its usual meeting-place, which was

supposed to date from the kingly period, and had been enlarged by Sulla. Other places were occasionally chosen for special reasons at the discretion of the consuls.

l. 7. **insidiae consuli.** It seems better to explain the dative here as following from the verbal meaning of 'insidiae,' like 'miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare' (40. 3), than to understand a part. like 'intentae' with Dietsch, or to speak of a 'dativus incommodi' with Kritz.

l. 8. **factu.** Kritz and others prefer the 'factum' of some MSS. as a past part., as also in 55. 1; 57. 5; Jug. 107. 5, comparing the general language of 'honestumne factu sit an turpe dubitant' of Cic. Off. 1. 3, 7, with that of Hor. Sat. 1. 4, 124, 'sive vetabat, an hoc inhonestum et inutile factum nec ne sit, addubites,' where the particular case is regarded as realised. MSS. authority and Latin usage seem in favour of 'factu.'

l. 13. **possent . . . confirment.** This change of tense after an historic present is not rare in Sallust, and the imperf. conj. expresses the indefinite possibilities of the case.

l. 17. c. 33. **Marcium Regem.** This is the only certain exception in Sallust to the common order of the names, the rule being that where the praenomen is omitted the cognomen should come first. Jug. 15. 3 we have 'Aemilius Scaurus,' but some editors insert 'M.' Caesar, however, in the Bell. Civ. and later writers of the first century arrange names as in this case. Cf. Lahmeyer, Philol. 1865, p. 486.

l. 21. **feneratorum.** 'Fenus a fetu quod crediti nummi alios parant,' Festus, p. 86. Cf. 'femina,' 'fecundus,' 'fenum,' 'felix,' 'filius.'

l. 22. **patriae . . . fama.** Note the difference of case, and cf. Jug. 74. 3, 'Romani signorum . . . aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum politi.'

l. 23. **more maiorum lege uti.** Many attempts had been made of old to check usury by positive law. Cf. Tac. Ann. 6. 16, 3, 'primo duodecim tabulis sanctum ne quis unciario fenore amplius exerceret . . . dein rogatione tribunicia (i.e. of 347 B.C.) ad semuncias redacta, postremo vetita versura,' by Lex Genucia (343 B.C.).

l. 24. **liberum corpus.** The insolvent debtor of early times became the bondsman of the creditor, and might be sold as a slave. Cf. Livy 6. 34, 2, 'fama atque corpore iudicati atque addicti creditoribus satisfaciebant.' This was met by the Lex Papiria of 325, which provided 'pecuniae creditae bona debitoris non corpus obnoxium esset' (Livy 8. 28, 4).

l. 25. **saepe.** The Lex Sextia Licinia of 377 B.C. allowed the interest already paid to be deducted from the capital of the debt. In 296 usurers were heavily fined by the tribunes. The Lex Flaminia minus solvendi of 217, by raising the nominal value of the denarius, enabled debtors to pay off their debts by part payment.

vostrum. The 'vostri' of nearly all MSS. is thus corrected on

the authority of Aul. Gellius, who says that the copyists 'in plerisque Sallustii exemplaribus scripturam istam sincerissimam corruperunt' (20. 6, 14).

l. 26. **novissume.** Purists like M. Varro objected to this word 'nimium novum verbum quod esset,' and Cicero uses it very seldom. Cf. A. Gell. 10. 21, who implies that the influence of M. Cato and Sallust gave it currency.

l. 28. **bonis.** The respectable classes, men of substance and character. In one of his fragments Sallust makes the contrast of 'boni' and 'mali' turn on means; elsewhere it distinguishes the conservative and radical tendencies. Cf. 19. 5.

argentum aere solutum. The law of L. Valerius Flaccus in 86 B.C., called by Vell. Paterculus (2. 23, 2), 'turpissimae legis auctor qua creditoribus quadrantem solvi iusserat,' i.e. one-fourth of the debt was to be accepted as payment in full. The bronze *as* was worth one-fourth of the silver sesterce. This legalized composition, as in bankruptcy, was due in part to the great losses caused by the Mithridatic wars, and was the greatest financial achievement of the democratic leaders. It relieved all debtors whether solvent or not, and was not likely to be acceptable 'omnibus bonis.'

saepe. Three or four occasions only are specified in the early annals of such secession to the Mons Sacer as in 494 B.C., to the Aventine in 449, and to the Janiculus in 287, and these are referred by the annalists to the pressure of debt or to material outrages, not to any 'dominandi studium.' But the claim of the patricians was that they were the true people of Rome, and the plebs only outsiders who had no right to political privileges or power. By the protest of a Secession the plebs took them at their word, and affected to retire from a city where they were treated but as aliens. But the patricians could not bear that Rome should sink into the petty state which had grown to power only by such accessions of population from without, and the threat brought them to terms.

P. 67, l. 2. **iniquitas praetoris,** 'the bias of the judge,' who would not enforce the law against the usurers.

l. 5. **c. 34. vellent . . . discedant.** This change of tense is an irregularity which has been thought an imitation of the style of Thucydides (cf. Poppo. Thuc. 1. 274).

l. 10. **optumo cuique.** 'To all the men of mark,' i.e. the optimates.

l. 12. **Massiliam.** Massilia was an allied city to which a Roman therefore might retire by the 'ius exilii.' In earlier days such a refuge might be found near at hand, but as the independent communities were gradually swallowed up by Rome, it was needful to go far to East or West, as to Rhodes or to Marseilles.

l. 14. **oreretur.** Note the unusual form of this word, as to which there is much divergence in the MSS.

l. 15. **Q. Catulus.** Now the most prominent representative of the senatorian oligarchy. Cf. note on 49. 2.

l. 16. **exemplum,** 'copy.'

l. 18. **c 35. magnis in meis periculis.** Catiline is said to have owed to the influence of Catulus his acquittal in the trial for the seduction of the priestess of Vesta. Cf. 15. 1; Orosius 6. 3.

fiduciam . . . tribuit, 'encourages me to trust my interests to your care.'

l. 20. **satisfactionem,** 'explanation,' not so strong a term as 'apology.'

conscientia de culpa. Cf. Cic. Att. 2. 24, 2, 'his de rebus conscium esse Pisonem.'

l. 21. **mediusfidius,** 'so may the god of troth help ('iuvet') me.'

l. 23. **industriae;** from 'indo-struere,' 'to be busy in doors.' Corssen, 2. 190.

statum dignitatis, 'the rank which I deserved.' Cp. Cic. Att. 1. 20, 3, 'neque de statu nobis nostrae dignitatis est recedendum.' Sallust here makes the repulse of Catiline the real ground of the conspiracy.

l. 24. **publicam miserorum causam.** Cf. Catiline's speech 'in contione domestica.' Cic. pro Mur. 25. 50, 'miserorum fidelem defensorem negasset inveniri posse, nisi eum qui ipse miser esset.'

l. 25. **non quin . . . at.** Some editors prefer 'et' after good MSS., on the ground that the debts were in both cases those of Catiline, though on different security. Jordan mistrusts his own conjecture 'at.'

l. 28. **homines honore honestatos.** Note the alliteration, and cf. Plautus Capt. 2. 2, 106, 'quum me tanto honore honestas.' The reference is to men like Cicero, L. Licinius Murena, the first consul of his family, and D. Junius Silanus, a plebeian.

l. 33. **haveto.** The earlier spelling of this word in the Inscriptions is without the *h*, and this seems in accordance with the derivation from the root *av-* (Greek ἄειν) found in 'autumnus.' Quintilian says (1. 5, 20), 'parcissime ea (sc. H littera) veteres usi in vocalibus, cum aedos ircosque dicebant,' but this is not supported by the evidence of inscriptions before Julius Caesar. Cf. Corssen, 1. 104.

P. 68, l. 1. **c. 36. C. Flaminium.** Several MSS. add 'Flammam,' which was a cognomen of the 'gens Flaminia,' as appears from Cic. Att. 14. 16.

l. 3. **exornat.** The verb 'ornare' is often used for the supply of arms or stores in a province

aliis imperi insignibus. These, in addition to the twelve

lictors with their bundles of rods ('fasces') which contained the axe ('securis'), were the curule chair ('sella curulis'), the military cloak ('paludamentum'), which in the field replaced the toga with its purple stripe ('praetexta'), as also the sword ('pugio'). Cf. Sueton. Galb. 11, 'iter ingressus est paludatus ac dependente a cervicibus pugione ante pectus.'

l. 5. **hostis.** Cf. note on 50. 3.

l. 6. **sine fraude.** An old formula used in the XII Tables for 'without guilt,' and used by later writers, as Cicero, Philip. 8. 11, 33, 'iis fraudi ne sit quod cum M. Antonio fuerint.' Caesar in a like passage of Bell. Gall. 5. 51, 3 has 'sine periculo' as the equivalent.

l. 7. **praeter.** Used adverbially, as Sueton. Tiber. 4, 'nullo praeter auguralis sacerdotii honore impertitum.'

l. 8. **dilectum.** The form of the word denotes, not the choice of the soldiers, but the distribution of the recruits of each tribe that was called upon in turn among the four legions of the ordinary levy, as described by Polybius.

Antonius cum exercitu. Italy had ceased to rank as a regular 'provincia' of the consuls in time of war, and this extraordinary commission did not therefore affect the subsequent claims of Antonius.

l. 11. **ad occasum ab ortu.** Cf. Hor. Carm. 4. 15, 15, 'porrecta maiestas ad ortus | solis ab Hesperio cubili.'

l. 14. **opstinatis,** formed like 'destinare,' 'praestinare,' from a root 'stanare,' lengthened from 'stare.' As to the orthography, cf. Quintil. 1. 7, 7, 'cum dico obtinuit, secundam *b* litteram ratio poscit, aures magis audiunt *p*.' As the actual pronunciation inclined to the *p*, as in 'lapsus,' there is some hesitation shown as to some such words in inscriptions and MSS. (Corssen, 1. 120; 2. 416).

l. 15. **ex tanta multitudine.** Two points in the story are really striking: first, the absence of informers; and secondly, the small number of the accomplices, who were found guilty and punished at the last.

l. 16. **inductus.** To be taken probably with 'quisquam,' for Sallust does not use participles in the masculine singular as substantives, though they occur in the plural, as the 'condemnatis' above.

coniurationem patefecerat. Q. Curius is here ignored, for his disclosures came before the public offers of 30. 6. The fact is a striking doubt, and may suggest doubts as to the reality of so widely extended a plot of long standing.

l. 17. **ac veluti.** The suggestion of Haupt (Philol. 3. 547) for the 'atque uti' of the best MSS. 'Uti' is, however, thus used as by Tac. Hist. 1. 46, 3, 'gregarius miles ut tributum annuum pendebat;' and Festus, p. 359, quotes the passage with 'uti' (cf. Nipperdey, R. M. 1874, p. 205).

l. 19. c. 37. **aliena.** For this unusual sense compare the French *maison d'aliénés* = 'lunatic asylum.'

l. 21. **id adeo.** A favourite phrase of Sallust (cf. § 11, and Jug. 65. 3; 110. 4) when a fresh reason is suggested to intensify an earlier statement.

l. 23. **odio.** Steup (Rh. Mus. 1870, p. 636) objects to this word immediately after 'odere,' and suggests 'taedio,' as Jug. 62. 9, 'taedio rerum advorsarum.'

l. 26. **ea vero.** An expressive pleonasm; cf. 58. 16.

praeceps erat, i. e. 'ad Catilinae incepta probanda' from § 1. Cf. Jug. 6. 3, 'praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem;' Tac. Ann. 16. 21, 3, 'animum ad flagitia praecipitem.' It is unnecessary to adopt with Kritz the reading 'ierat' of two inferior MSS. on the ground that 'praeceps' requires a verb of motion.

l. 29. **postremo omnes.** This adds to the class of ruined spendthrifts ('qui per dedecora') others driven from home by vicious courses. 'deinde' refers to others stirred by ambitious hopes. There is no reason for supposing with Nipperdey (R. M. 1874, p. 205) that the two clauses should be transposed, on the ground that the latter describes a special case of the former generalization.

l. 30. **sicut in sentinam.** Cicero had used this metaphor with effect against Rullus, when he urged that he implied in his agrarian proposals 'urbanam plebem exhauriendam esse . . . quasi de aliqua sentina . . . loqueretur' (de Leg. Agr. 2. 26, 70).

l. 31. **gregariis militibus.** While there is a general expression for the 'rank and file' of the Roman army, there is none such for the officers.

alios senatores videbant. Cf. Dionys. Hal. 5. 77, *βουλὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων συνεστήσε*, though according to the epitome of Livy 89, and Appian 1. 100, Sulla's new senators were chosen from the equestrian order.

l. 32. **alios ita divites.** A centurion, L. Luscius, is said to have amassed a property of ten million of sesterces as his share of the plunder of the time.

P. 69, l. 1. **manuum mercede,** 'manual labour,' not confined to hired labourers, who were few in number. Cf. Varro de Re Rust. 2, pref. 3, 'patres familiae correpserunt relictis falce et aratro et manus movere maluerunt in theatro ac circo, quam in segetibus ac vinetis.'

l. 2. **largitionibus.** These most frequently took the form of the sale of corn below cost price, or even at a nominal rate, either by the government or by officials at their own cost. An early example of this is mentioned in 439 B.C. (Livy, 4. 16, 2). Others followed, but the

practice was not made a regular charge upon the treasury till the Lex Frumentaria of C. Gracchus in 123. It was suspended indeed by Sulla, but re-enacted by the Lex Terentia Cassia of 73, and as it was limited to the citizens at Rome, it doubtless attracted many thither. Besides this, there were occasional distributions of oil or wine ('congiaria') below cost price (Livy, 25. 2, 8; 37. 57, 11), as well as presents to the soldiers disbanded after a triumph, or in later days as 'donativa' during actual service.

l. 6. **iuxta ac**, i.e. 'as little as.' Cf. 61. 5, 'cuncti suae hostiumque vitae iuxta pepercerant.'

l. 7. **ius libertatis inminutum.** Explained by Vell. Paterc. 2. 28, 3, 'exclusi paternis opibus liberi etiam petendorum honorum iure prohiberentur.' This was intended probably not so much as a penal measure as to prevent them from disturbing the political settlement by agitations in the senate or in public meetings ('contiones').

l. 11. **multos post annos.** The interval was not really long, for the tribunician power was only limited between 82 and 70 B. C.

l. 13. **c. 38. tribunicia potestas restituta.** The great tribunes of the past generation had abused their power of pushing important bills through the 'Comitia Tributa' without the sanction of the senate. Sulla deprived them wholly of this influence over legislation, as also of the right to impeach public men before the commons. Some power of veto was still left, but we learn from Cicero (in Verr. 1. 60) that this even was curtailed, and it was probably reduced to the power of suspending for a time the authority of the resolutions of the senate. It was provided also that no office of state could be held after the tribunate, which no ambitious man would therefore care to fill, and it was left as an 'imago sine re' (Vell. Paterc. 2. 30, 4). It was restored to its old importance 70 B. C.

adulescentes. The term is used somewhat widely, though the tribunate was filled at times by comparatively young aspirants.

l. 15. **plebem exagitare.** Cf. Tac. Ann. 3. 27, 4, 'neque multo post tribunis reddita licentia, quoquo vellent, populum agitandi.'

l. 18. **senatus specie**, 'nominally for the senate though really for their own aggrandizement.' Cf. Jug. 29. 4, 'cuius rei species erat acceptio frumenti.'

l. 20. **honestis nominibus**, 'with fair professions.' The whole passage is copied from Thucyd. 3. 82, 8, *Οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες, μετὰ ὀνόματος ἑκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλήθους τε ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος προτιμήσει, τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες, ἆθλα ἐποιοῦντο, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι, ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ δεινότατα.*

l. 23. **neque . . modestia neque modus.** Cf. 11. 4.

l. 25. c. 39. **bellum maritumum.** The pirates had long plundered the coasts, preyed upon the merchant-shipping, paralysed commerce, and caused famine prices in the markets of Italy, till the bill of Gabinius in 67 B.C. created an extraordinary command, with unlimited forces over the whole Mediterranean, to sweep the corsairs from the seas. Pompeius organised simultaneous movements on a vast scale and speedily overpowered resistance.

Mithridaticum. Cf. note on 17. 7.

l. 26. **paucorum potentia.** Compare the use of 'potentia' for illegitimate or 'de facto' influence with the legalised authority of 'potestas' in 38. 1.

l. 27. **innoxii.** Elsewhere in Sallust used actively, but passively as here in Tac. Hist. 4. 20, 1, 'si nemo obsisteret, innoxium iter fore.'

l. 28. **ceterosque.** Ritschl (R. M. 1866, p. 318) thinks the 'que' is a remnant of an original 'qui,' and that the passage ran 'ceteros qui plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent iudiciis terrere,' but it seems better to take 'placide tractare' in the sense of 'handle in a peaceful spirit,' that is without exciting them against the nobles; cf. 41. 2, 'placide inter se rempublicam tractabant.' It was not the interest of the oligarchic party to oppress the commons by overt outrages, though they did neglect their material good. Some mistaking this have stumbled at the passage and wished to insert a 'ne' before 'tractarent,' others propose 'quom' for 'quo.'

l. 29. **in magistratu** seems to refer to the tribunate, though it was not regarded as strictly a magistracy.

l. 31. **eorum** refers either to 'ceteros,' the leaders of the 'populares,' or *per synesim* to 'plebem.'

adrexit. Sallust commonly uses this form instead of the 'erexit' of ordinary prose.

superior aut aequa manu. This variety of construction is one of the ways in which Sallust gives liveliness to his style; cf. Jug. 6. 1, 'pollens viribus, decora facie.' So 'qui plus posset' below takes the place of the 'potentior' which would balance 'defessis,' as in Jug. 41. 8, 'ut quisque potentiori confinis erat.'

P. 70, l. 1. **quin defessis et exanguibus.** This may point to the supposed hopes of powerful intriguers behind the scenes, like Crassus or Caesar, who without actual complicity in the plot, might have profited in the long run by any general disturbance.

l. 5. **necari iussit,** by virtue of the 'patria potestas,' which gave the father absolute right over his children. Valerius Maximus (5. 8) gives as illustrations of like conduct the father of Sp. Cassius, T. Manlius Torquatus, and M. Scaurus. Cf. Verg. Aen. 6. 820, 'natosque pater nova bella moventes | ad poenam pulcra pro libertate vocabat.' It was

supposed, however, that old usage required the sanction of a family council in such extreme cases.

l. 11. c. 40. **Allobrogum.** A powerful tribe between the Rhone and the Isère. Hannibal passed through their territory on his way to the Alps, and Livy calls them 'gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior' (21. 31, 5). They were defeated with great loss by Cn. Domitius in 121 B.C., and Q. Fabius Allobrogicus, and then subjected to Rome.

l. 12. **aere alieno obpressos.** This was a common condition of the Roman provinces; cf. note below on 'negotiatus, and Cicero pro Fonteio 1. 1, 'Hoc praetore oppressam aere alieno Galliam. A quibus versuras tantarum pecuniarum factas esse dicunt? A Gallis? Nihil minus. A quibus igitur? A civibus Romanis qui negotiantur in Gallia.'

l. 13. **bellicosa.** Hannibal found them engaged in civil war, and when the Roman general attacked them he took advantage of their enmity with the Aedui. They were again driven to despair by the exactions of governors and money-lenders, and as their loyalty in the plot of Catiline brought them no relief, they rose in insurrection, but were soon crushed again.

l. 15. **negotiatus.** In Gaul, as in other provinces recently annexed, there had been heavy war-indemnities at first, then tithes and taxes leased out to companies of Roman knights and collected by grasping agents, costly presents also to be made to the governor and his suite. To provide the necessary funds recourse was had to Roman capitalists, who lent money on usurious terms, and bribed the governor to allow extortionate practices and enforce payment through the sale of mortgaged lands. A swarm of speculators settled on the country to lease the taxes, farm the state lands, contract for the roads and commissariat, buy up the lands that came into the market, and thrive generally on the distress of the provincials. The speech of Cicero pro Fonteio illustrates this state of things and the callousness of Roman consciences; cf. 1. 1, 'referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena civium Romanorum; nemo Gallorum sine cive Romano quidquam negotii gerit: nummus in Gallia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis commovetur.'

l. 17. **legatos in foro,** perhaps in the Graecostasis; cf. Varro de L. L. 4, 'locus substructus, ubi nationum subsisterent legati, qui ad senatum essent missi,' Drumann 5. 486.

l. 18. **exitum tantis malis.** 'Malis' has been regarded as an abl. abs., but here, as in the like passage Jug. 14. 24, it seems better to take it as governed by the verbal substantive 'exitum,' and as a somewhat bold varying of the ordinary genitive.

l. 19. **de avaritia magistratuum.** Cf. Livy, 43. 2, 1, 'Hispaniae

deinde utriusque legati introducti. Ii de magistratuum Romanorum avaritia superbiaque conquesti, nixi genibus a senatu petierunt, ne se socios foedius spoliari vexarique quam hostes patiantur.' In the neighbourhood of the Allobroges the requisitions of war had been very heavy a few years before; cf. Cicero pro Fonteio. Fonteius the pro-praetor was accused of imposing heavy 'octroi' duties on wine for his personal gain, and of being bribed by the contractors of the roads. His advocate can find little evidence in his defence, and contents himself with sorry jests at the breeches and brogue of the plundered victims ('bracati, barbaro atque immani terrore verborum').

l. 21. **miseriis suis remedium.** For the construction, cf. 'exitum malis,' above.

l. 28. **aliena consili,** 'stranger to the plot.' The construction, though unusual, is found in Cic. de Fin. 1. 4, 11, 'quis alienum putet eius esse dignitatis quam mihi quisque tribuit.' Sallust also employs 'alienus' with the abl., both with and without the prep. 'a'; cf. 51. 17; 56. 5.

l. 33. c. 41. **in incerto habuere.** Sallust varies the phrase to 'incertum habeo' in Jug. 95. 4, and 'in incerto esse,' Jug. 38. 5. The phrase in the text may be suggested by the ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἴχοντο of Thuc. 1. 25, 1.

P. 71, l. 4. **fortuna rei publicae.** Fabri compares Gronov. ad Liv. 6. 30, 5, 'mos est Romanis scriptoribus, quae insperatam salutem in magno periculo attulerunt, ea fortunae populi Romani delegare.'

l. 5. **patrocinio.** It was a Fabius who accused Fonteius in the interest of the Gauls; cf. Cic. pro Font. 12. 26, 'M. Fabium rogabimus ut Allobrogum animos mitiget, quoniam apud illos nomen est amplissimum.' A Fabius had reduced them to submission in 121 B.C., and the family of a conquering general often undertook the patronage of a conquered race, as that of Aemilius Paulus was related to the Spaniards and Macedonians, the Marcelli to the Sicilian cities. This patronage became a sort of 'procuratio,' as we speak of a lawyer's clients. Cf. Cic. de Off. 1. 11, 35, 'qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, eorum patroni essent more maiorum.'

l. 7. **praecepit.** There is some doubt here, as in Jug. 13. 6 and 28. 1, whether we should read 'praecipit' or 'praecepit,' with a pres. conj. following. The MSS. diverge in all cases, but there are like sequences of pres. after perf. in 34. 1 and 52. 14.

l. 9. **bene,** the adverb for the attribute 'bona;' cf. 'bene praedicent,' Jug. 85. 27.

l. 10. **manufestos habeant,** 'bring the guilt clearly home to them;' cf. note on 52. 36.

l. 14. c. 42. **armorum atque telorum.** 'Tela,' exclusively offensive

weapons; 'arma,' here narrowed by the contrast to the specific sense of defensive.

l. 18. **citeriore.** For this reading of the MSS. some have substituted 'ulteriore,' on the ground that C. Murena, the brother of the consul elect, was probably legate in further Gaul (cf. Cic. Mur. 41. 89), where his brother had been propraetor in 64 B. C. The reference is certainly to the Narbonensis, whether the error be due to Sallust or the copyists of the MSS. The first line of the chapter points to some illustration to follow as to both Gallia Cisalpina, where Q. Metellus Celer was in office, and to further Gaul.

l. 19. **legatus praeerat.** Probably left in command when his brother left the province, and retaining his commission by instructions from the senate.

l. 21. **c. 43. constituerant.** For plur., cf. Jug. 38. 6, 'cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum . . . transiere.' It is usually, though not always, preferred to the singular by Sallust in like cases, but is very rare in Cicero and Caesar.

l. 22. **in agrum Faesulanum.** This seems strangely far from Rome to be a signal for a rising within the walls, and 'Faesulanum' has been variously thought to be an error of the MSS. for 'Carsulanum,' 'Trossulanum,' 'Aesulanum,' or 'Suburbanum.' The last would make the best sense, but the corruption of the MSS. would be hard to explain.

l. 23. **L. Bestia.** As he would not enter on office before December 10th, the plot could not have fixed an earlier date for the outbreak.

contione, the technical term for a public meeting called by a magistrate or general, or the harangue delivered in it, or possibly the scene (cf. A. Gell. 18. 7, 6); so 'actio' is used of the official dealings with public assembly or senate.

l. 24. **optumo consuli.** Cicero (Att. 12. 21) thinks it little honour to be spoken of in these terms by Brutus in his Cato. An enemy, he says, could scarcely say less.

l. 25. **multitudo . . . quisque.** Cf. a like case of *constr. ad sensum*, Silius 16. 464, 'cetera contenti discedent turba duobus | quisque ferox iaculis.'

l. 31. **filii familiarum.** Cf. 'matres familiarum,' 51. 9. Varro says (L. L. 7. 38), 'si analogias sequi vellent, plures patres familias dicere non debuerunt, sed, ut Sisenna scribit, patres familiarum.' Tacitus seems to have imitated Sallust or Sisenna; cf. Ann. 1. 26, 5; 3. 8, 2; 11. 13, 2.

P. 72, l. 1. inter haec. Cf. Jug. 30. 3, 'inter dubitationes et moras senatus.'

l. 4. **facto non consulto.** Imitated by Tacitus, Hist. 1. 62, 2, 'ubi facto magis quam consulto opus esset.'

l. 5. **aliis.** This use of 'alii' for 'ceteri' is avoided by Cicero, but frequent in Livy (Dräger 1. 87).

l. 16. c. 44. **data atque accepta fide.** So Jug. 81. 1, like the Greek *πίστιν δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν*.

l. 18. **Quis sim.** Here, as in like passages, the MSS. waver between 'quis' and 'qui,' of which the former would refer to the name and identification only, the second to the character of the writer. The letter is also given by Cicero (in Cat. 3. 5, 12) in similar terms, though not identical.

l. 21. **etiam ab infimis**, i. e. from the slaves whose help Catiline is said to have declined; cf. 56. 5.

mandata verbis, 'verbal instructions,' as Cic. Fam. 10. 8, 'plura etiam verbo quam scriptura mandata dedimus.'

l. 24. c. 45. **constituta nocte.** Dec. 2nd.

l. 26. **L. Valerio Flacco**, defended in 59 by Cicero in a trial 'de repetundis,' after a propraetorship in Asia.

C. Pomptino, afterwards successfully engaged in war with the Allobroges, and legate of Cicero in Cilicia.

l. 27. **in ponte Mulvio.** Now 'ponte Molle.'

l. 29. **opus sit . . . permittit.** When the conjunction of a dependent clause precedes an historical present Cicero almost invariably puts it in the past tense, and Caesar commonly. Sallust has one other exception to the rule (Jug. 103. 3); Livy many more (Dräger 1. 209).

l. 32. **utrimque**, at either end of the bridge, for the men had been posted in ambush to cut off their retreat as well as advance.

l. 33. **cito.** As the whole thing had been arranged with the Allobroges, who were prepared for their arrest, the 'cito' seems quite out of place.

P. 73, l. 5. **dedit**, pres. of 'dedere;' cf. Jug. 32. 5.

l. 9. c. 46. **porro**, 'on further reflection;' an extension of the purely local sense of Jug. 28. 6. Cf. also Jug. 25. 7.

l. 12. **rei publicae perdundae.** Not a dative, as the contrast to oneri' might seem to imply, but a genitive, as 6. 7, 'regium imperium, quod initio conservandae libertatis . . . fuerat.' This construction, very rare in Cicero, is especially frequent in Tacitus.

l. 15. **ceteri sine mora.** Cicero says that Lentulus came late because he had been sitting up writing letters, contrary to his usual habits (in Cat. 3. 3, 6).

l. 18. **in senatum.** Regarded as suspicious because the words 'in aedem Concordiae' seem to make them needless, but though 'perducit' can be used absolutely, some indication of the locality seems requisite, and the other words add further definiteness.

l. 25. c. 47. **fide publica**, 'under promise of pardon.' Cf. Jug. 32. 1.

l. 27. **nihil amplius scire quam legatos**, 'knew no more than the envoys did.' Objection to this rendering has been taken on the ground that the confession is too meagre to suit the 'omnia . . . aperit' above, and that Volturcius would not be expected to compare his knowledge with that of others. But nothing better has been proposed. It is very forced and harsh to make 'legatos' the object of 'scire,' still more with Kritz to take 'nihil' for 'neminem.'

l. 31. **ex libris Sibyllinis.** The Sibylline books consisted, in their nucleus, at least of oracles which had been brought from Gergis in the Troad, and from Erythrae to Campania, and thence to Rome in the period of the last Tarquin. A wave of Hellenic influence passed with them, and under their influence the worship of Apollo and of other gods of Greece soon followed. Their contents were regarded as state secrets, and the special board appointed for their custody ('quindecimviri sacris faciundis') consulted them only in grave crises at the bidding of the senate rather to learn the required forms of ceremonial service than definite disclosure of the future. But unauthorised prophecies leaked out at times, freely interpreted by the fancy of the people, and used as in this case for personal or party ends. So it was bruited about that there was an oracle to support the claim of the kingly name for Caesar (Cic. de Div. 2. 54). For earlier cases, cf. Livy, 3. 10, 7, and 38. 45.

l. 33. **Cinnam.** L. Cornelius Cinna, consul in 87 B.C., headed a popular reaction against the oligarchy, during the absence of Sulla in the East. He was driven to fly and deposed unconstitutionally by the senate, but returned triumphantly with Marius, and lorded it over Rome as consul year after year till his death in 84, but left no trace of any power or will to reform the government of Rome or improve the condition of the subject peoples. Vell. Paterculus calls him 'in consultando temerarium, in exequendo virum.'

antea, se tertium esse. It has been thought that 'fuisse' must have dropped out of the text after 'antea,' but there is a similar confusion of tenses or ellipse in Jug. 81. 1.

P. 74, l. 1. **ab incenso Capitolio.** The great temple of Jupiter was destroyed by fire on July 6, B.C. 83 (Plutarch, Sulla, 27), and Tacitus says 'civili bello sed fraude privata' (Hist. 3. 72, 2), though the cause was really uncertain. It was not rebuilt in time for Sulla to dedicate it, 'hoc solum felicitati eius negatum.' The temple restored by L. Catulus was again destroyed in the civil wars of 69 A.D., and the minds of the insurgents in Gaul were excited by the news, 'nihil aeque quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem imperio adesse crederent, impulerat' (Tac. Hist. 4. 54, 3).

l. 2. **haruspices.** Properly 'those who pried into the entrails' of the victims; from the same root as 'hariolus,' χορδή, χόλιξ

(Corssen, 1. 509). For the professional character of the 'haruspices,' cf. note on Jug. 63. 1.

l. 4. **signa sua cognovissent**, 'admitted that the seals were theirs.'

l. 5. **abdicato magistratu.** The usual phrase is 'abdicare se magistratu,' but the form in the text occurs in Livy, and was perhaps a novelty of Sallust's copied by others. A Roman magistrate could not be deposed by the senate, though the influence of the whole order was often brought to bear on an official who was said by the priests to have been 'vitio creatus,' and he was invited to resign; as were others also when interests of state seemed to require it. In 87 B.C. the senate degraded Cinna from his consulship, but unconstitutionally.

in liberis custodiis. Besides the little prison on the Capitoline hill (Tullianum), there were other cells which derived their name ('lautumiae') and probably their character from the Greek stone quarries. But it had long been the practice of the magistrates to keep criminals in arrest in their own houses (Cic. Verr. 5. 29, 73), or to discharge them on bail ('vades') till the trial, or to consign them to relations and others who, in extreme cases, were held responsible with their own lives for their safe keeping. This last was the 'libera custodia.' For a like case under the Empire, cf. Tac. Ann. 5. 8, 2.

l. 7. **Cethegus.** There was further evidence of the quantity of arms found in his house. Cf. Cic. in Cat. 3. 3, 8, 'ex aedibus Cethegi . . . maximum sicarum numerum et gladiorum extulit.'

l. 10. c. 48. **patefacta.** Cicero says (pro Sulla, 14. 42) that he had shorthand notes of the evidence taken by four senators, 'quos sciebam memoria scientia consuetudine et celeritate scribendi facillime, quae dicerentur, persequi posse.' Copies of these were widely dispersed over Italy and the provinces.

l. 16. **quippe cui . . . erant.** Sallust always puts 'quippe qui' with an indic., though in 57. 4 'utpote qui' takes a conjunct., and 52. 8 'qui' in a causal sense does the like. But Sallust has a marked preference for the indic.

l. 24. **Lentulus . . . deprehensi**, 'the seizure of Lentulus.' Perhaps the only example in Sallust of the use of a passive participle for an abstract verbal substantive. In early writers it is nearly limited to the ablative, like 'scito,' 'facto,' with 'opus est.' Caesar avoids the construction, but it is especially frequent in Livy (Dräger, 2. 752).

l. 32. **ex negotiis privatis.** Many of the nobles were largely in debt to the wealthy Crassus, whose political influence was much increased by such investments.

l. 33. **uti referatur.** The technical expression for the presiding magistrate who brought a subject before the senate ('referre'). He might put a definite resolution before them, and take an immediate vote upon

it. Commonly he proceeded to open the debate and call on the senators to speak in their proper turn ('consulere senatum, sententias rogare').

P. 75, l. 3. **potestatem.** Sc. 'indicandi,' from the 'indicaret' which follows.

l. 7. **inmissum,** 'suborned.' Tacitus follows this use, Ann. 4. 19, 1, 'immissus Varro consul.'

l. 8. **patrocinio.** Plutarch speaks of the readiness with which Crassus gave his help in the courts of law, and of the influence which he, like Cicero and many others, gained by his zeal and talents as an advocate.

l. 11. c. 49. **C. Piso.** A determined aristocrat, who as consul in 67 B.C., risked the fury of the mob by opposing the claim of extraordinary powers for Pompeius, and by the taunt that 'if he would be a Romulus he might haply meet his doom.' He also strenuously opposed the efforts of the tribune C. Cornelius to limit the dispersing power of the senate, and to check bribery by heavier penalties.

neque pretio. Most of the MSS. have 'neque precibus neque gratia neque pretio,' but 'gratia' would include 'precibus,' and Priscian quotes the passage as in the text, which is in accordance with the usage of Sallust elsewhere. Cf. Jug. 29. 3; 16. 1. His text like that of Septimius (tr. Dictys), an imitator of Sallust, points to 'quivere' for 'potuere.'

l. 15. **in iudicio pecuniarum.** The crime 'repetundarum' was wide enough to cover various other abuses of official power in the provinces, but the 'supplicium iniustum' may have been the motive, without being explicitly brought out in the trial, for Julius Caesar looked on the Transpadani as his political clients.

l. 17. **maxumis honoribus usus.** Catulus had been consul in 78 and censor in 65 B.C., and was 'omnium confessione senatus princeps' (Vell. Paterc. 2. 43, 3). He partially restored and consecrated the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in 69, though Julius Caesar tried in 62 to rob him of the credit of the work.

l. 18. **adulescentulo.** Caesar was in his 37th year, but still young for so august an office as that of Pontifex maximus. Cf. 38. 1.

l. 20. **muneribus.** Referring to his extravagant outlay on the shows as aedile, when he exhibited the Megalesia and Ludi Romani on a magnificent scale. The gladiators whom he brought on the stage were limited by the senate to 320 pairs, but they wore silver armour for the first time.

grandem pecuniam. Even before he held any public office his debts are said to have amounted to 1300 talents (Plut. Caes. 5). In 61 B.C. he could not leave Rome for his province until M. Crassus satisfied his creditors for him.

l. 24. **equites Romani.** As representing the material interests of the moneyed men endangered by a social revolution. They were more frequently on the popular side, and it was the especial object of Cicero to strengthen the 'concordia ordinum' between knights and senate.

l. 27. **egredienti ex senatu.** Elsewhere Sallust always uses 'egredi' without a prepos. before the abl. Suetonius refers the threats to the later scene in the senate (Dec. 5) when the debate was held on the punishment of the conspirators (Caes. 14).

l. 32. c. 50. **opifices.** The mechanic classes were recruited chiefly from aliens and freedmen; their material interests suffered from the competition of slave labour, which degraded also the social estimate of manual industry. Their misery and discontent would make them lend a willing ear to the promises of revolutionary leaders.

l. 33. **partim.** More often in Sallust following 'alii,' though at times alone, as Cic. Verr. 2. 65, 158.

duces multitudinum. Clubs and guilds and workmen's unions ('collegia,' 'sodalicia') were organized in the later days of the Republic by political wire-pullers for party ends, and their leading spirits might readily become the chief agents in a popular movement.

P. 76, l. 3. **in audaciam.** Rejected by Dietsch. Wagner proposes 'in auxilium' (Rh. Mus. 1878, p. 702).

convocato senatu. On the 5th of December.

l. 7. **frequens senatus.** The total number of the senators seems to have been raised by Sulla to 600. No definite number was fixed for a legal 'quorum,' and at times very few were present. Cicero speaks on one occasion of 200 as being 'sane frequentes' in December (ad Q. Fr. 2. 1, 1), but several times we read of more than 400 present, excluding the magistrates.

contra rem publicam fecisse. This resolution was equivalent to the proclaiming the disturbers of the peace to be 'hostes' (cf. 36. 2), or a sentence of outlawry. When put in the future tense, as in 51. 43, it was intended as a warning addressed by the senate to the officials present or future, against whom further measures might be taken if they persisted in disregarding the vote.

l. 8. **D. Iunius Silanus,** consul in 62, was the stepfather of M. Brutus, the murderer of Caesar.

primus sententiam rogatus. The earlier rule was for the presiding magistrate to call first upon the 'princeps senatus' to open the debate, but about this time the consuls designate were first appealed to, or indeed other consulars at the discretion of the president; cf. A. Gell. 14. 7, 9.

l. 11. **si deprehensi.** It does not appear that L. Cassius was brought to justice.

l. 13. **pedibus in sententiam.** This is the technical phrase, not merely for the vote given in the final division, but for the expression of opinion in the course of the debate, when a member of the house might place himself by the side of an earlier speaker, instead of speaking himself upon the question.

Ti. Neronis. It appears, however, from Suetonius (Caes. 14) that Silanus, without withdrawing his former vote, explained it away by saying that he had meant at first only imprisonment, and not death by 'supplicium' ('non piguerit sententiam, quia mutare turpe erat, interpretatione lenire'). Ti. Nero was the grandfather of the emperor Tiberius.

l. 14. **praesidiis additis referundum,** 'bring the subject on again when further defensive steps had been taken;' i. e. postpone the debate. Cf. Tac. Ann. 14. 26, 3, 'additum et praesidium mille legionarii.'

Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est, i. e. after the consulars and before the praetorians, as he was praetor designate. Appian (B. C. 2. 5, 6) probably inferred wrongly from the preceding clause that Nero spoke before Caesar, as there is no trace of Nero's proposal in the fourth Catilinarian speech of Cicero, who rose immediately after Caesar.

l. 28. **c. 51. infida.** This is too strongly put. Rhodes had done Rome good service in the Syrian war, and offered to help the Roman navy against Perseus. But as the war dragged on her commerce suffered, and in a moment of presumption she proposed to arbitrate, and talked even of taking part against the power which refused to come to terms. But they were only hasty words, soon rued when the victory of Pydna closed the war.

l. 31. **inpunitos.** Not so. Rhodes was stripped of her dependencies on the mainland, and lost much of her revenue by the creation of a rival emporium at Delos.

l. 32. **indutias,** for 'indu-itias;' i. e. retirement of the army within the camp. Cf. 'industrius' (Corssen, 2. 741).

l. 33. **multa nefaria.** The Romans spoke glibly of the 'Punica fides' of their old enemies; but there is little or no evidence of it in the history of the great struggle.

numquam ipsi. The facts were far otherwise. The story of the Third Punic War is one long chronicle of Roman guile and cruelty.

per occasionem, 'when the opportunity occurred.'

P. 77, l. 7. **ingenia,** 'ingenuity' in devising penalties.

l. 13. **conlubuisset.** The more common reading is 'conlubuissent,' though the verb is properly impersonal, and as such often used by Plautus

l. 24. **studere,** 'favouritism.'

l. 33. **eos mores eamque modestiam,** 'such I know is his character and even temper.'

P. 78, l. 8. **aerumnarum.** Derived by Corssen (2. 172) from a strengthened form of 'ira,' the termination being like that of 'calumnia,' 'vertumnus,' etc.

l. 10. **ultra neque curae neque gaudio.** Caesar speaks here as a materialist expressing the Epicurean doctrine which was widely spread among the higher classes of society at Rome, and which Lucretius had stated at great length (3. 670–1107); but the Platonic Philosophy, which insisted strongly on the immortality of the soul, had its adherents also, and found an eloquent advocate in Cicero (Tusc. Disp. 1). The Stoic system, which was soon to be the fashionable creed, assigned at least to the souls of good men a long period of continued life ('si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnae animae,' Tac. Agric. 46. 1). The people meanwhile clung to its old beliefs about the spirit-world; the terms of the funeral inscriptions, the language of devotion, the domestic usages, the popular fancies even about witchcraft, show the strong faith in a life beyond the grave. Cf. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms 3. 615.

l. 12. **lex Porcia.** Cf. Livy, 10. 9, 4, 'Porcia lex sola pro tergo civium lata videtur, quod gravi poena, si quis verberasset necassetve civem Romanum, sanxit.' Three 'leges Porciae' are mentioned, and they were passed probably between 166 and 134 B.C.; but we know little as to their separate provisions. They seem to have enforced with more stringent sanctions the right of appeal secured by the Valerian laws, to have extended to all Roman citizens beyond Rome the immunity from the cruel forms of public execution which was before restricted to those who could appeal to the tribunes, and finally to have prohibited scourging altogether in the case of Romans. Cf. Zumpt, Criminalrecht 1. 2, 68.

l. 13. **aliae leges,** i.e. the penalty provided for specific offences by other laws is exile at the worst, not the death of the older code. With the extension of the range of the jury courts, which had no power of inflicting death, the spirit of the penal system grew milder.

l. 18. **neglegeris.** For this unusual form of the perf. cf. 'neglegisset' in Jug. 40. 1, and 'intellegit' Jug. 6. 2. There is much variation, however, in the MSS. in these passages.

l. 20. **illis merito accidet . . ceterum.** Here, as in other parts of the speech, we are reminded of the pleading of Diodotus for the Mytilenaeans, Thuc. 3. 46.

l. 22. **rebus.** Schöll (Hermes 11. 332) rejects this as a weak gloss. He would also change the 'sed' into 'et,' there being no contrast implied. The variety of readings, 'ex bonis initiis,' 'ex rebus domesticis,' certainly makes the passage doubtful, and the omission of 'rebus,' though by no means required by the sense, would give more strength to the language.

l. 26. **triginta viros.** It was the policy of Sparta after the Peloponnesian war to keep her hold on the dependent states by setting up in each a local government of oligarchs, who overawed their fellow-citizens with the authority and material help of Sparta. The thirty 'tyrants,' as they were called, soon provoked a reaction by their excesses.

l. 27. **pessumum quemque.** Xenophon, whose sympathies were aristocratical, speaks of the first victims of the Thirty as odious to the gentlemen of Athens (*ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας*, Hell. 2. 3, 12); but there is no evidence that the people generally approved of the murder of these leaders of the democracy.

l. 28. **ea laetari.** For this constr. cf. Jug. 14. 22, 'laetandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuum.'

l. 32. **Damasippum.** Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2. 26, 2, 'Damasippus praetor Domitium . . . Scaevolam etiam, pontificem maximum et divini humanique iuris auctorem celeberrimum et C. Carbonem praetorium, consulis fratrem, et Antistium aedilicium velut faventes Sullae partibus in curia Hostilia trucidavit.'

malo rei publicae creverant, 'had thriven on the ruin of the state.' It is possible also to take 'malo' as a dative, as in phrases like 'malo publico natus.'

P. 79, l. 5. in proscriptorum numero. Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2. 28, 3, 'primus ille, et utinam ultimus, exemplum proscriptionis invenit, ut . . . iugulati civis Romani publice constitueretur auctoramentum . . . fieretque quisque merces mortis suae.'

l. 16. **arma . . ab Samnitibus.** The 'scutum' was called by Athenaeus (6. 106) Samnite, by Plutarch (Rom. 21) Sabine in origin: the 'verutum' was the *σαύνιον* or Samnite javelin. This willingness to profit by the experience of foreign nations was carried further—the Spanish sword was borrowed after the Second Punic War (Suidas, s. v *μάχαιρα*), the 'lorica hamata' from the Gauls (Varro L. L. 5. 116), the 'pilum' was possibly Etruscan, and the elaborate siege artillery was of Greek invention.

l. 17. **insignia magistratuum.** Livy (1. 8, 2) makes the Romans borrow from the Etruscans the 12 lictors, the 'sella curulis,' and 'toga praetexta.'

l. 20. **imitari.** We may take as illustrations of this the poetry, philosophy, and mythology of Greece, as well as such attempts as were made to naturalize the Hellenic fine arts on the soil of Italy, where they were at best exotics.

imitari quam invidere. For this conjunction of two verbs of different regimen cf. Juv. 4. 39, 'incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi | implevitque sinus;' Livy, 35. 19, 6, 'odi odioque sum Romanis.'

l. 21. **Graeciae morem imitati.** Döderlein (Philol. 9. 579) proposes to transfer this to before 'lex Porcia,' where it might agree better with the facts. Dietsch thinks it out of place in either case, and a marginal note of a sciolist. Schöll (Hermes 9. 333) explains the passage as a further illustration of the misapplication of good precedents dealt with in § 27, as if the Romans had used in civil struggles the penalties of flogging and execution borrowed from the criminal code of Greece. It is not likely that there was any such borrowing from a Greek state (Heyne, Opusc. 3. 192), though it may have been an inference from the supposed influence of Greece on the Twelve Tables. More probably the belief was due to the mania of explaining in this way national resemblances, and Varro, who dwelt on such supposed debts in a work published a year before this treatise, may have suggested the idea to Sallust. Cf. Servius on Verg. Aen. 7. 176.

l. 30. **ea bene parta.** Referring to the idea of 'tantum imperium' by *constr. ad sensum.*

l. 32. **publicandas eorum pecunias.** This was a rare practice in the experience of republican Rome. It was not a recognized part of the penalty even of the gravest crimes, though at times it was adopted against political offenders to make the example more striking, as in the stories of Sp. Cassius and Sp. Maelius.

in vinculis habendos. This is further emphasized by Cic. in Cat. 4. 4, 8, 'adiungit gravem poenam municipibus, si quis eorum vincula ruperit; horribiles custodias circumdat.' The penal system of the Roman republic did not recognize imprisonment as a punishment for crime, though ordinary criminals were kept in arrest at the discretion of the magistrates, if it did not seem safe to leave them free, or discharge them on bail, till the trial. But there was no legal limit to the time of detention. The magistrate was not forced to proceed with the trial, and his successor might leave the accused in prison with the sanction of the senate, unless a tribune intervened. This was contrary to the spirit, but not to the letter of the laws 'de provocatione;' but we read of earlier examples (cf. Pliny, N. H. 21. 8). The senate was not a court of justice, and could not sentence the accused, but it might, through its influence with the magistrates, procure continued imprisonment. Foreigners and prisoners of war had in earlier times been consigned to the country towns for custody (cf. Livy, 24. 45, 5; 32. 26, fin.), but this did not constitute a precedent for Roman citizens.

l. 33. **neu quis de eis postea ad senatum referat.** This provision implies that the course proposed was irregular, if not illegal. Had the sentence been passed in the ordinary course of law there would be no idea of cancelling it, as the decision of the courts was final.

P. 80, l. 1. **cum populo agat.** The technical term for a magistrate's

action when he convened the Comitia and took the votes of the people.

l. 4. c. 52. **verbo.** For a like use of the sing. in a collective sense cf. Livy, 27. 34, 4, 'aut verbo adsentiebatur, aut pedibus in sententiam ibat, donec . . . stantem coegit in senatu sententiam dicere.' This passage shows that it was possible merely to state adherence to an opinion given by an earlier speaker ('verbo adsentiebatur'), or silently to move to his side, as well as to make a formal speech when called on. In the first case it was not necessary to rise from the seat ('sedens iis assensi,' Cic. ad Fam. 5. 2, 9).

l. 7. **longe mihi alia mens.** The whole sentence seems copied from the opening of the third Olynthiac Oration of Demosthenes, *οὐχὶ ταὐτὰ παρίσταταί μοι γιγνώσκειν, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἀκούω. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνομένους, τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα, ὥστε ὅπως μὴ πεισόμεθα αὐτοὶ πρότερον κακῶς, σκέψασθαι δέον.*

l. 21. **saepe . . . verba in hoc ordine feci.** Cato was still only of quaestorian rank, or of the senators called 'pedarii,' who were not disqualified from speaking, though most of them were naturally content 'pedibus ire in sententiam.'

l. 22. **saepe de luxuria.** In this he would act in the spirit of the ascetic creed of the Stoics which he professed, and after the example of the elder Cato, who stoutly defended the primitive type of Roman manners against the innovations of luxury and fashion.

l. 23. **ea causa,** for the more usual 'ea de causa;' so in Jug. 54. 4, 'id ea gratia eveniebat quod.' Plautus and Terence use both phrases, as Tacitus, Ann. 4. 18, 1, 'qua causa.'

l. 25. **gratiam fecissem,** an unusual equivalent for the idiom 'veniam dare;' cf. Jug. 104. 5. The conjunctive is here taken with 'qui' in a causal sense, contrary to the common practice of Sallust.

l. 30. **haec,** referring by *constr. ad sensum* to 'imperium,' as 'ea' in 51. 42.

l. 31. **mihi.** The *dativus ethicus* used especially by the comic writers, and in conversational style.

quisquam. The exclamation, if put in the form of a question, would perhaps better imply the negative sense in which 'quisquam' is elsewhere used by Sallust.

l. 32. **equidem.** This use of the word (as in 54. 11 and 58. 4) seems to be an archaism in literary style, though probably common in popular idiom. Bentley said that before the time of Nero it was never used except with the first person, or for 'ego quidem.' As to its derivation the analogy of 'edepol,' 'equirine,' 'eccere,' etc. points to an intensive 'e,' and not to 'ego.' Cicero only employs it with the first person

singular of the verb, and especially in conversational style; Caesar has it only twice, and in speeches; Nepos not at all. In the familiar style of the romance of Apuleius its older and freer use recurs. It is only in the speeches in Sallust's Catiline that we find the earlier use: in his later works he seems to have restricted himself to the practice of Cicero; cf. Jordan, Krit. Beit., p. 314.

vera vocabula rerum amisimus. A reminiscence perhaps of Thuc. 3. 82, 4, *καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιώσει. Τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη.*

P. 81, l. 3. in furibus. For a like use of the abl. where the acc. would seem more natural, cf. 9. 2.

l. 4. **ne**, for 'dummodo ne,' as below in § 27.

l. 8. **loca taetra.** Cf. Juv. 2. 149, 'esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna | et contum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras | . . . nec pueri credunt.' Cicero says the like (Tusc. 1. 21), and Seneca (Ep. 24. 18). Lucretius had turned the whole into an allegory of the torment of a guilty conscience (3. 991–1036). The popular belief in the spirit-world was not necessarily connected with the forms of the Hellenic mythology, and the extent of incredulity even as regards these was certainly exaggerated by literary men; cf. note on 51. 20.

l. 30. **publice . . . privatim.** So the contrast drawn by Horace, Carm. 2. 15, 13, 'privatus illis census erat brevis | commune magnum.'

P. 82, l. 2. vacuam, 'neglected' or 'undefended;' cf. Livy, 23. 2, 7, 'per caedem senatus vacuam rempublicam tradere Hannibali.'

l. 7. **hostibus.** Not to be taken as an abl. abs., but as an instrumental abl. with 'facere,' as in 55. 3, and Jug. 85. 17. The special question of debate was the treatment of the prisoners, not what should be the next step to be taken.

misereamini censeo. Cf. a like irony in Cic., Cat. 4. 6, 13, 'vereamini censeo ne in hoc scelere tam immani nimis aliquid severe statuisse videamini.'

l. 10. **convortat,** in a reflexive sense without a case, as Jug. 85. 9, 'bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam vortit.'

l. 14. **suppliciis.** Cf. above, 9. 2.

l. 18. **A. Manlius Torquatus.** In Livy, 8. 3, 5, the praenomen is given as Titus, and the war in question is called Latin, not Gallic. Dionysius Hal. (8. 79) agrees however in this respect with Sallust, who probably confused the occasion with the battle in which Manlius gained his cognomen from the spoils of the fallen Gaul.

l. 25. **iterum.** As this was the second conspiracy of the partisans of Catiline, cf. c. 18.

l. 31. **faucibus urget,** a vigorous metaphor like the 'faucibus premere' of Cic. pro Cluent. 31, and 'f. tenere' of Plautus, Cas. 5. 3, 4. In a

like passage of Cic. (Cat. 1. 2, 5) we read 'in Etruriae faucibus,' but there seems no reason for accepting the inferior readings which insert 'in' before 'faucibus,' or omit 'urbis' after 'in sinu;' cf. Hermes 1. 236.

P. 83, l. 5. de confessis. There is an example in point of the case of the disclosures of the horrors of the Bacchanalia, Liv. 39. 17, 'adducti ad consules fassique de se nullam moram fecere.'

l. 6. **de manufestis.** This was a technical term of the old Roman law for a criminal detected in the act; thus Aul. Gell. 11. 18, 11, 'manifestum furtum quod deprehenditur dum fit.' In such cases there would be no appeal to tribune or people to stay the sentence of the magistrate, and justice was therefore summarily administered.

more maiorum supplicium. In this are implied the two elements, (1) of the punishment of death as distinct from the exile or outlawry which followed at the worst from the action of the jury courts; (2) of the absence of any technical proceedings 'in iudicio,' or pleading in court, which were dispensed with where the magistrate had power of dealing summarily with the accused. Cf. Zumpt, Criminalrecht 1. 2, 173.

l. 8. **c. 53. postquam Cato adsedit.** Cicero appears to have called on scarcely any more senators to speak after Cato; cf. Vell. Paterc. 2. 35, 3, 'paene inter ultimos interrogatus.' He was tribune designate at this time.

l. 11. **senati decretum fit.** This term is applied to a resolution of the senate when a vote had been taken, and might therefore be a single clause of the senatusconsultum, in which it was expressed. Cf. definition of Festus, 'senatus decretum a consulto Aelius Gallus sic distinguit ut id dicat particulam quandam esse senatusconsulti.'

l. 14. **mari atque terra.** Some eight variations occur of the usual form 'terra marique;' cf. Dräger, 2. 62.

l. 17. **legionibus.** The Roman historians did not scruple to apply to foreign nations the technical terms of their own civil and military systems.

l. 19. **facundia,** often used by Sallust, though not by Cicero or Caesar.

l. 20. **ante Romanos.** So Tac. Ann. 13. 54, 3, 'nullos mortalium armis aut fide ante Germanos esse.' The construction is avoided by Cicero and Caesar.

l. 25. **effeta parente.** The common reading of the best MSS. is 'effeta parentum,' which cannot be explained in any natural sense. Dietsch thinks that a substantive has dropped out of the text, and would supply 'aetate;' Ritschl prefers 'vi' (Rh. Mus. 1866, p. 316); Wirz proposes to insert 'esset' before 'effeta,' and strike out 'parentum' as part of a marginal note.

l. 28. **viri duo.** Tacitus refers to this contrast as familiar to his

readers, 'ut quondam C. Caesarem et M. Catonem, ita nunc te, Nero, et Thraseam avida discordiarum civitas loquitur' (Ann. 14. 22, 2).

l. 29. **quin.** This use of 'quin' is somewhat unusual, as in 39. 4. It may perhaps be explained as following the 'non praeterire,' though the negative really belongs to 'fuit consilium;' cf. Constans 198.

l. 31. c. 54. **genus, aetas, eloquentia.** The eminence of the elder Cato gave a dignity to the plebeian Porcii, which rivalled that of the patrician Julii. Caesar was five years older than Cato. As to the eloquence of the latter, cf. Cic. Brut. 118, 'Stoici traducti a disputando ad dicendum inopes reperiuntur; unum excipio Catonem, in quo perfectissimo Stoico summam eloquentiam non desiderem.'

P. 84, l. 3. **nihil largiundo.** Yet he is said to have sanctioned bribery to secure the election of Bibulus, the colleague of Caesar; cf. Sueton. Jul. 19, 'ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e republica fieri.'

miseris perfugium. The bankrupt in character and fortune flocked to the camp of Caesar, who was ready to welcome all who might be useful as adherents, and was generous by temper as well as policy; cf. Sueton. Jul. 27, 'reorum aut obaeratorum aut prodigae iuventutis subsidium unicum ac promptissimum erat.'

l. 6. **sua neglegere.** Cf. the account in Suetonius (Jul. 72) of the way in which he sacrificed his personal comfort to provide for a sick attendant, and his reputation to reward his neediest adherents.

l. 8. **bellum novom.** Not 'a fresh war,' in the sense of 'one following fast upon another,' but 'begun by himself,' of which he had the sole responsibility. Fabri quotes passages of Livy in which 'novum' is used in this sense (9. 42, 3; 31. 8, 5).

l. 10. **severitatis.** Cato's rigid formalism was carried almost to fanaticism; Caesar's personal ambition made light of principle and customary scruples; neither could understand the other, and Caesar, who showed mercy to the living, bitterly attacked the reputation of his fallen enemy.

l. 11. **cum strenuo virtute.** Compare the extravagant language of Vell. Paterc. 2. 35, 2, 'homo virtuti simillimus et per omnia ingenio diis quam hominibus propior, qui nunquam recte fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non potuerat.'

l. 12. **esse quam videri bonus.** A reminiscence of the famous line applied to Aristides, *οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλω* (Aesch. S. c. Th. 589).

l. 17. c. 55. **triumviros.** Dietsch has 'tresviros,' and the MSS. commonly put 'III viros,' though not always. The sing. 'triumvir' was first formed with the 'partitive gen., as 'a man of three,' and this compound word was then declined, but the form 'tresviri' was also used. The 'III viri

capitales' or 'nocturni' were police officials, who without any judicial competence had the care of prisoners and executions, and took measures for the safety of the streets at night.

l. 19. **ceteris**, abl.; cf. above, 52. 25.

l. 20. **est in carcere.** The 'carcer Mamertinus' ascribed to Ancus Marcius was 'media urbe imminens foro' (Livy, 1. 32, 7). The two chambers called 'the prison of St. Peter' have been always known, but recent explorations have brought to light a series of large chambers 40 feet long by 14 wide, now separated from the others by the Via di Marforio. They were made probably out of the old quarries of tufa ('lautumiae') which was dug out of the hill-side to build the walls, and the large blocks still distinguish the masonry of the earliest times. In the vault of each is a man-hole through which a prisoner might be lowered, and a long passage and drain below it connect them with the great Cloaca into which the bodies of criminals might be flung; cf. Parker, Archaeology of Rome, 1. 103. Here were imprisoned Perseus, Jugurtha, Vercingetorix, Seianus, and others.

Tullianum. Festus gives the usual derivation of the word: 'Tullianum quod dicitur, pars quaedam carceris, Tullium regem aedificasse aiunt.' He adds, however, 'tullios alii dixerunt esse . . . rivos.' There is such a natural spring in the lower of the two chambers shown as the prison of St. Peter, and this may have given the name.

l. 23. **incultu**, a rare word, found Jug. 2. 4, and Livy, 42. 12. The floors of the prison were little above the level of the Tiber, and they are flooded now at times, but in the time of Tiberius the floor was raised about six feet. The Acts of the Martyrs give a horrible description of their state in later times.

l. 25. **vindices**, 'the executioners,' slaves or freedmen in attendance on the 'triumviri capitales,' or more probably those officials themselves; cf. Cic. de Leg. 3. 3, 6, 'minores magistratus . . . . vincula sontium servanto, capitalia vindicanto.' Some MSS. have 'indices' and 'iudices,' and the phrase has been therefore regarded with suspicion. The old theory was that the magistrate who sentenced the criminal executed the sentence through his attendants, but after the appointment of the 'triumviri capitales' to deal with the prison, the carnifex becomes the agent, and the lictors cease to use the axe and rods, which become mere symbols of authority.

l. 28. **exitium**, here equivalent to 'exitum,' as in the older Latin generally according to Festus.

l. 29. **supplicium sumptum.** When all was over Cicero went forth with leading senators to the forum to announce their death with the word 'vixerunt.'

l. 33. c. 56. **cohortis.** Cf. note on 59. 2.

P. 85, l. 1. voluntarius, a new recruit, as distinct from those already privy to the movement ('socii').

l. 5. **sparos.** Servius (Verg. Aen. 11. 682) says that 'sparus' is 'rusticum telum ad modum pedis recurvum.' Corssen derives from a root *spar-* or *spal-*, whence 'pilum,' 'palpare,' 'pellere,' etc. (1. 525).

l. 11. **servitia repudiabat.** Stress has been laid upon these words, as by Ihne, as tending to disprove the strong language of Cicero and Sallust about the designs of Catiline. The state itself had armed its slaves ('volones') in the Second Punic War, but this marked the urgency of the crisis.

cuius. Used collectively of the whole class described by 'servitia;' cf. Thuc. 1. 80, 3, *ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν; ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἔτι πλέον τούτου ἐλλείπομεν*; and 7. 48, 6 (Poppo).

l. 21. c. 57. **transalpinam.** Possibly to the Allobroges, who were known to be in an unsettled state.

l. 22. **ex difficultate rerum**, 'way out of the strait in which he found himself.'

l. 27. **utpote qui**, coupled here with the conj., though 'quippe qui' always takes an indic. in Sallust.

l. 28. **expeditus.** Nearly all the MSS. have 'expeditos,' which as the sentence stands can make no sense. Dietsch thinks that it ran originally 'expedi[tus impedi]tos,' and that the bracketed syllables have fallen out. Ritschl suggests in preference 'expedi[to tarda]tos.' The following words 'in fuga' would then have a natural place.

P. 86, l. 1. c. 58. conpertum ego habeo. Yet the practice seems to have been universal among the Greek republics, and generally among the citizen soldiers of antiquity.

l. 6. **timor animi.** With this pleonasm we may compare 'lubido animi,' 51. 4; 'ferocia animi,' 61. 4; 'iudicium animi,' Jug. 4. 4.

l. 9. **dum . . . opperior.** In Cic. de Fin. 5. 19, 1 'dum' is similarly used with the pres. indic., though in an 'oratio obliqua:' 'in Archimede, qui dum in pulvere quaedam describit attentius, ne patriam quidem captam esse senserit.'

l. 11. **iuxta mecum**, a phrase found at times in the colloquial style of Plautus, but afterwards obsolete.

l. 13. **si maxume animus ferat**, 'however much we may desire it;' cf. Jug. 54. 4.

l. 28. **alienas opes**, 'the bounty of strangers;' that is the dole of the patron, or the bribe and largess of the noble candidate for office.

l. 31. **mutavit**, perf. in aorist sense. Cf. Hor. Ep. 1. 2, 47, 'non aeris acervus et auri | aegroto domini deduxit corpore febres.'

P. 87, l. 9. c. 59. canere. In an intrans. sense, as Jug. 94. 5, and often in Livy.

l. 11. **exaequato periculo.** This is almost a commonplace in the

descriptions of critical engagements by Roman historians. Cf. Caesar, Bell. Gall. 1. 25, 1, 'Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret.'

l. 13. **rupe aspera.** In this difficult passage 'rupe' is a causal abl. qualifying 'aspera,' which has been taken by some as a nom. agreeing with 'planities,' or with 'loca' in such a sense as 'ab dextera erant loca propter rupem aspera.' But in that case 'inter' would have little meaning, and it seems better to accept the harsh construction of 'aspera' as a neut. accus. plur. connected by 'et' with 'montes,' 'the rugged ground caused by the rocks on the right.' It has been proposed to substitute for this 'rupis aspera,' as a more familiar construction frequently found in Livy and other writers, or, as seems probable, to take the reading of the MSS. as a corruption of 'rupem asperam,' the abbreviated sign of the *m* having been effaced.

octo cohortis. The 'cohort' was originally a technical term for a division of the allies who served with the Roman soldiers. It was further applied to a section of the legion made up of a maniple of each of the three divisions, 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'triarii,' when on the march. Marius changed the earlier arrangement of the legion as drawn up on the field of battle in these three lines, and marshalled it in cohorts uniformly armed, and ten in number.

l. 16. **evocatos,** 'veterans;' technically applied to the men who had served their full term, but volunteered at the general's call for further service, with special privileges of pay and promotion. They formed a distinct corps, and seem to have ranked with centurions. They are mentioned in the army of Flamininus in 198 B.C., as in that of Marius (Jug. 84. 2), and Caesar (B. C. 1. 3, 2).

l. 18. **curare.** A term often used by Sallust for the duties of an officer; cf. Jug. 46. 7.

l. 19. **calonibus.** The MSS. have 'colonibus' or 'coloniis,' out of which most editors make 'colonis,' and suppose a reference to the veterans of Sulla referred to in 28. 4. But these would more probably have been stationed in the front, and not ranked with the freedmen, as the soldiers' servants ('calones') might naturally be. Festus explains the word as derived from their staves of wood, 'quae Graeci *κᾶλα* vocant.'

aquilam. The silver eagle had been since the time of Marius the distinctive standard of the legion. Cf. Pliny, N. H. 10. 16: 'Romanis eam (aquilam) legionibus Gaius Marius in secundo consulatu suo proprie dicavit. Erat et antea prima cum quatuor aliis; lupi, minotauri, equi, aprique singulos ordines anteibant. Paucis ante annis sola in aciem portari caepta erat, reliqua in castris relinquebantur, Marius in totum ea abdicavit.' Of this special eagle Cicero says, 'aquilam illam argenteam cui ille etiam sacrarium scelerum domi suae fecerat' (in Cat. 2. 6, 3).

l. 21. **pedibus aeger.** This, according to Dion Cassius 37. 39, was a mere pretence to cover his absence from the field. His old relations with Catiline made him unwilling, it was supposed, to deal the decisive blow himself.

l. 23. **tumultus.** Applied to the crisis of a Gallic inroad, or the confusion of some pressing danger.

l. 27. **homo militaris.** Cicero (pro Sestio, 5. 12) speaks of his 'mirificus usus in re militari.' He had been already praetor: in 55 he was 'legatus' to Pompeius in Spain, where he fought against Caesar in 49. Driven to disband his legions there, he tried to renew the struggle in Africa, where he killed himself after the battle of Thapsus (Caesar, B. C. 1. 83; Bell. Afr. 94).

l. 28. **praefectus.** A term specially applied to an officer of the allied contingent, which was divided into an 'ala dextra' and 'sinistra,' to each of which three 'praefecti socium' of Roman status, corresponding in rank to the tribune of the legion, were appointed by the commander-in-chief. The 'ala' had ten cohorts, each recruited by men of the same race, and with its own native 'praefectus cohortis.' The official titles of 'praefectus legionis' and 'praefectus castrorum' belong to the time of the Empire.

l. 33. **c. 60. ferentariis,** 'skirmishers.' Varro (L. L. 6. 3, 92) explains the word as applied to soldiers who had only 'arma quae ferrentur ut iaculum,' and says that he had seen in an old picture in the temple of Aesculapius horsemen so represented, with the name 'ferentarii' written below. Vegetius ranks them with the slingers (1. 20), and stations them on the wings.

P. 88, l. 2. pila omittunt. So Caesar, Bell. Gall. 7. 88, 2, 'nostri omissis pilis gladiis rem gerunt.'

l. 9. **cohortem praetoriam.** This was a *corps d'élite* specially organised as a body-guard of the general, and dating from the time when *praetor* rather than *consul* was the highest title, though ascribed by Festus (Epit. p. 223) to the initiative of Scipio Africanus. It consisted both of horse and foot, partly of veteran legionaries ('evocati'), partly of Roman equites, together with picked horsemen of the allies.

l. 16. **c. 61. tum vero.** Like the ἐνταῦθα δὴ which Thucydides also puts after a participle, as 2. 58, 2.

l. 20. **divorsius.** Dietsch here inserts, without any MSS. authority, 'alis alibi stantes,' on the ground that two grammarians (Diomedes and Charisius) quote a passage of Sallust beginning thus and ending with 'sed omnes tamen adv. voln. cec.' It may have been a marginal note, for we find the phrase 'alis (for 'alius') alium,' in old inscriptions; cf. C. I. L. 2. 2633.

advorsis volneribus, 'wounds in face or front,' often appealed to in proof of a soldier's courage. Cf. Jug. 85. 29.

l. 26. **iuxta.** Cf. 37. 8.

l. 27. **incruentam.** First used, it would seem, by Sallust, afterwards common in Livy. The abruptness of the close is striking. Nothing is said as to the fortunes of the conspirators who had escaped from Rome, or as to any further consequences of the movement.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

P. 91, l. 1. c. 1. falso. Quintilian criticises the opening sentence as having too metrical a sound: 'nec minore cura vitandum est quidquid est ἔνρυθμον, quale apud Sallustium, *falso queritur de natura sua.*' It is hard for a modern ear to detect the fault, and the grammarian Diomedes regards the criticism itself as captious.

l. 2. **aevi brevis.** Cf. Hor. Sat. 2. 6, 97, 'vive memor quam sis aevi brevis.' In 'aevum' the idea of duration or a long period is more prominent than in 'aetas,' and the phrase may imply, as Fabri suggests, that the life of man even at its longest is but a brief span.

regatur. The conj. is an exception to the common practice of Sallust, who puts an indic. after verbs expressing complaint, wonder, and the like; but probably the 'falso' explains the variation of usage.

l. 3. **invenias.** There is an awkwardness in the two distinct constructions of the accusative and the infinitive following 'invenias.'

l. 6. **grassatur.** As the frequentative of 'gradior' this verb implies a continued or intenser form of action.

l. 7. **pollens potensque.** These words are often combined, as in the ancient formula of the fetials, Liv. 1. 24, 9, 'quanto magis potes pollesque.' The former word expresses strength and resources, the latter the ability to use them.

l. 8. **artis.** Cf. note on Cat. 2. 4.

l. 10. **pessum.** For 'ped-tum,' and connected with **πέδον, πεδίον,** 'oppidum,' in sense of 'firm-footing,' 'solid ground;' 'pessum ire' in form like 'venum ire, domum abire,' the accus. indicating that to which the movement tends. Cf. Corssen, Beiträge, p. 333.

l. 11. **usus.** It seems easier to connect this immediately with 'datus est,' making the second clause explanatory of the first, than to explain it as a nom. abs. or anacoluthon, as though the meaning and natural construction would be 'lubidine usus . . . infirmitatem accusat.'

l. 13. **auctores**, i.e. 'culpae,' the culprits.

l. 16. **eo magnitudinis.** A favourite construction of Sallust, not found in Cicero or Caesar, but common in Tacitus and later writers.

l. 17. **pro mortalibus.** Not 'as far as mortal man may be,' like the 'pro loco atque copiis' of Cat. 59. 1, but 'instead of being mortal.' Cf. Livy, 22. 12, 6, 'pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum compellabat.'

l. 18. c. 2. **genus hominum,** 'human nature;' but the 'genus humanum' of some MSS. would be, as Kritz remarks, men as the contents of the class.

anima. Used here, as in Cat. 2. 8, in contrast to 'corpus,' instead of the more distinctive 'animus;' Cic. Tusc. 3. 1, 1, 'cum constemus ex animo et corpore.' Varro, however, agrees with Sallust, 'quod est homo ex corpore et anima,' L. L. 8. 1.

l. 22. **dilabuntur.** This commonplace is repeated from Cat. 1. 4.

P. 92, l. 1. **aucta senescunt,** 'all that wax begin in turn to wane.'

l. 2. **inconruptus,** 'incorruptible.' Cf. note on 'invictum,' 43. 5.

l. 8. **claritudo.** An older form preferred by Sallust to 'claritas,' like 'necessitudo,' Cat. 17. 2.

l. 9. c. 3. **imperia.** Used here for military office as distinct from the civil 'magistratus,' though the word originally implied the power of life and death vested in judicial as well as military authority.

l. 12. **per fraudem [iis] fuit.** If in this corrupt passage 'iis' be simply struck out, 'fuit' must be taken as equivalent to 'licuit,' as 110. 3, 'fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando tuae amicitiae.' The change to 'is' is easy, and it would then agree with 'honos,' but the usage of Sallust seems to require the order 'quibus is per fraudem fuit.' A good MS. has 'ius,' which may be taken in the sense of official authority. Dietsch and others propose 'vel vi,' Steup suggests 'decus.' A further corruption in the MSS. consists in the insertion of 'uti' before the 'tuti,' which slipped in doubtless by a copyist's mistake.

nam vi quidem regere patriam. The whole paragraph closely resembles the drift of a long passage in one of the Epistles attributed to Plato (7), and addressed to the relations of Dion.

l. 13. **parentes.** The corresponding passage in the Greek letter has *πατέρα ἢ μητέρα προσβιάζεσθαι*, yet forcible restraint in their case would seem to need a stronger epithet than 'inportunum.' If we translate it as 'subjects,' as in 102. 7, we are met by the objection that *force* in ruling alien peoples seemed natural to Roman minds. But here, as in Cat. 6. 5 and 52. 3, where the word is coupled with 'patria,' we may best translate it as 'kinsfolk' or relations in a wider sense, like the French *parents*. It has been proposed to change 'aut' to 'ut,' and to translate 'as subjects,' and this would be convenient, though not necessary.

l. 14. **inportunum,** 'dangerous,' like a rocky coast without a harbour of refuge. The danger of course is to the holder of power.

l. 17. **quaerere,** 'acquire.'

nisi forte. After speaking of the difficulties and dangers of power sought by fair means ('virtuti') or foul ('per fraudem'), and used in the interests of the popular party ('omnes rerum mutationes'), Sallust contemptuously refers to the partisans of the old oligarchy who would yield honour and freedom to win the favour of the privileged few. The words 'nisi forte' often have an ironical meaning. Cf. 31. 20.

l. 20. c. 4. **ceterum.** Commonly used in this treatise in transitions from one thought to another, though at times with idea of marked contrast as 14. 1.

l. 21. **memoria,** 'record,' and therefore with 'rerum gestarum,' 'history.'

l. 22. **per insolentiam.** Taken out of its natural place near the verb which it qualifies, 'that no one may think me to be in a vain-glorious spirit overpraising my own pursuit;' imitated perhaps by Tac. Ann. 14. 43, 1, 'ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer.'

l. 27. **salutare plebem.** Cf. Livy, 23. 4, 2, 'hinc senatores . . . plebem adulari, salutare, benigne invitare, apparatis accipere epulis.' Hor. Ep. 1. 19, 37, 'non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor | impensis coenarum.'

l. 28. **adeptus sim.** Good MSS. have 'sum,' and the indic. is possible in a sentence which refers to a matter of fact, while the following conjunct. indicates a less definite object of thought.

l. 29. **quales viri.** Sallust may be thinking, among other cases, of the unsuccessful attempt of M. Cato to gain the praetorship in 55 B.C.

quae genera hominum. Referring to the Gauls and others admitted by Julius Caesar to the senate, and to those whom M. Antonius enrolled at the supposed wish of Caesar. The latter were called by popular jest 'Orcini' (Sueton. Aug. 35), and pasquinades on the former suggested that no one should show the new senators the way to the senate-house, and again 'Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam' (Sueton. Jul. 80).

l. 31. **merito,** 'with good reason.'

l. 32. **negotiis.** Contrasted with 'otio' by a play upon the derivation 'nec-otium.'

l. 33. **Q. Maxumum.** The Fabius Cunctator who checked the course of Hannibal's successes.

P. 93, l. 1. P. Scipionem. Either the conqueror of Hannibal, or the victor of Numantia and Carthage.

l. 2. **maiorum imagines.** The busts which were set up in the atrium of a nobleman's house. Cp. Juv. 8. 1, 'quid prodest, Pontice, longo | sanguine censeri, pictosque ostendere vultus | maiorum et stantes in curribus Aemilianos | et Curios iam dimidios.'

l. 3. **scilicet.** Used as here with an infin. 102. 9; 113. 3, the verbal sense of the word being prominent. To make 'habere,' with Kritz, follow the same regimen as 'accendi' would leave 'egregiis viris' without any natural construction.

l. 7. **omnium eis moribus,** 'in the general corruption of our age.' Cf. Dräger, 2. 776, who compares Cic. Att. 10. 11, 3, 'ea sunt tolerabilia—hac iuventute,' and 11. 14, 2, 'omnium conspectum horreo, praesertim hoc genere.'

l. 11. **furtim.** The change from the adverb to the accus. with 'per,' and the instrum. abl. is one of the modes by which Sallust gives variety to his style.

l. 15. **altius,** 'further into the open sea.'

l. 16. **ad inceptum redeo.** Cf. 42. 5. Tacitus probably imitates this in Ann. 4. 33, 6.

l. 18. **c. 5. magnum.** Not in the number of the combatants or world-wide importance of the struggle, but in the novel character of the campaigns and the physical difficulties of the seat of war.

l. 19. **tunc primum.** This was not literally true, as the action of the Gracchi showed in legislation, for they ignored completely the influence of the senate, and appealed directly to the commons. The Memmius and Mamilius of this period did no more than many a bold tribune of the past in impeaching great offenders.

l. 22. **vastitas Italiae.** The population of Italy was steadily on the decline during the last century of the Republic. Tib. Gracchus called attention to the *ἐρημία τῆς χώρας* (Plut. T. Gr. 8), and tried not quite in vain to check it. The ravages of war indeed were great and frequently renewed. The Social War is said to have cost 300,000 fighting men (Vell. Paterc. 2. 15, 2). Towns were destroyed and whole districts left a wilderness before Sulla crushed his rivals, and the later Civil Wars cost countless lives. But the losses of war might soon have been repaired, if economic causes had not ruined the Italian yeomen, and replaced them with slave-gangs working on the vast estates of absentees. The early empire tried ineffectually to remedy the evil, and the depopulation steadily went on.

faceret. A sing. verb is often used by Sallust after several subjects which together form one compound thought. Cf. 75. 1; Cat. 12. 1; 50. 6.

l. 27. **post magnitudinem nominis Romani,** 'since the Roman power had grown to its full stature.' For a like use of 'post,' cf. Cat. 5. 6, 'post dominationem L. Sullae;' Lucil. Sat. 4, 'optimus ille | post homines natos gladiator qui fuit unus.' 'Nomen Romanum' is formed after the analogy of 'nomen Latinum,' which was used as a collective term first for the Latin race, and then for a degree of political status.

l. 28. **Masinissa**, son of Gula, the king of the Massyli, a tribe on the eastern side of Numidia, routed Syphax at the age of 17 with great slaughter. Livy (29. 29) gives a long and picturesque account of his adventurous courage in fighting for his father's throne against a rival claimant and the overpowering numbers of his old enemy Syphax. Driven at last into hopeless exile, he joins Scipio and aids him in the crowning victory over Carthage. Cirta, the later capital of Syphax, becomes his royal residence, and both divisions of the Numidian tribes are united under his rule. Many Numidian names begin with the same syllable, which is retained in the Berber language as *mis*, *mas* = son; cf. Massiva, Massugrada, Massyli, Massaesyli, etc. (Movers, 2. 2, 368). The contemporary Greek spelling of the name is given in an inscription recently found at Delos which has βασιλέα Μασαννάσαν (cf. Rh. Mus. 1879), as also in one at Athens.

l. 29. **Africano cognomen.** This construction, seldom used by Cicero, and never by Caesar, occurs regularly in Sallust. Cf. 79. 5.

ex virtute. Cf. Livy, 30. 45, 6, 'Africani cognomen militaris prius favor, an popularis aura celebraverit; an sicuti Felicis Sullae Magnique Pompeii patrum memoria coeptum ab assentatione familiari sit, parum compertum habeo. Primus certe hic imperator nomine victae ab se gentis est nobilitatus.'

l. 31. **Syphace**, the king of the Massaesyli, who are described by Livy (28. 17, 4) as 'gens affinis Mauris, in regionem Hispaniae maxime qua sita Nova Carthago est, spectant.' We find him changing from side to side in the Second Punic War, till the charms of his Carthaginian wife Sophronisba decided him to abandon the cause of Rome in the final struggle in which he lost both wife and throne.

l. 32. **magnum.** Most probably used adverbially, not as some have taken it, for 'magnum fuit atque late valuit.' The account of the Numidian wars in Livy, 29. 29, etc. show that the Western tribes were more numerous and powerful than the Massyli on the East.

quascumque urbes. Cf. Livy, 30. 44, 9, 'Scipio . . . Masinissam ad regnum paternum Cirta oppido et ceteris urbibus agrisque, quae ex regno Syphacis in populi Romani potestatem venissent, adiectis donavit.' Rome often gave to an ally the territory which had been won, and then annexed it with his kingdom in a later age.

P. 94, l. 1. bona, 'loyal.' So Tac. Ann. 1. 57, 7, 'memoria bonae societatis impavidus.'

honesta nobis. 'Creditable' to Rome it might be, if there could be credit in the use of an unscrupulous ally who plundered defenceless Carthage and drove her to despair because she was forbidden to use force against the aggressor, but the tone of Masinissa to Rome was servile in the extreme. Cf. Livy, 40. 13.

l. 2. **sed.** Omitted by Kritz and Dietsch against MSS. authority on the ground that there is no opposition, but it seems to mark the contrast between his position and that of his successors.

imperi . . . finis. The plenitude of absolute power vested in Masinissa was divided at his death between his three sons, Micipsa receiving the royal town of Cirta and its territory, Gulussa the military, and Mastanabal the judicial functions. Cf. Appian, Libyc. 106. There seems no authority for the statement of Kortte repeated by Merivale, that the grants of land and cities made to Masinissa reverted at his death to Rome, for the province of Africa was very small, and the Numidian territory extended from the borders of Mauretania to those of the Cyrenaica.

deiu indicates a later period than that of the joint authority of the three brothers, and 'regnum' is now used of the kingdom, the term 'imperium' just before expressing the undivided powers of the supreme ruler.

Micipsa. Used by Juvenal (5. 89, Canna Micipsarum) as equivalent to Numidian in general.

l. 3. **morbo absumptis.** If this was so, it probably prevented the strife that would naturally have resulted from so artificial a division, designed perhaps by the Romans to make Numidia a less formidable neighbour to the province.

l. 4. **Adherbalem,** 'the worshipper of Baal.' Cf. Schröder, Ph. Spr. p. 107.

l. 8. c. 6. **pollens viribus decora facie.** With this change of construction cf. Cat. 39. 4, 'quodsi . . . Catilina superior aut aequa manu discessisset.'

l. 9. **luxu.** This is the only place in Sallust where this form of the dative of the fourth declension is well attested. Aulus Gellius (4. 16, 8) gives examples from Caesar and adds, 'in libris quoque analogicis omnia istius modi sine i litera dicenda censet.'

l. 10. **mos gentis . . . equitare.** Thus Vergil (Aen. 4. 41) speaks of the 'Numidae infreni' which Lucan (4. 682) amplifies, 'et gens quae nudo residens Massylia dorso | ora levi flectit frenorum nescia virga.' Livy describes them (23. 29, 4) as riding with a fresh horse beside them, on to which they used to leap in the thick of the fighting ('desultorum in modum').

l. 13. **leonem.** When Dr. Shaw mentioned in conversation at Oxford that the native tribes in Africa not only hunted but ate lions, this was regarded as a traveller's licence, for 'it had long passed as almost the peculiar privilege of the lion to eat man. . . . I do aver that I have ate part of three lions. . . . I confess that I have no desire of being again served with such a morsel, but the Arabs, a brutish and ignorant folk,

will, I fear, notwithstanding the disbelief of the University of Oxford, continue to eat lions as long as they exist.' Bruce's Travels, Int. p. 25.

aut introduces a limitation, as 56. 5, 'cuncti aut magna pars;' 31. 19, 'pax aut deditio.'

l. 17. **parvis liberis**, 'while his children were still young.'

l. 18. **intellegit**, probably an obsolete form of the perf.; cf. Cat. 51. 24.

l. 19. **cum animo.** Frequent in Sallust with other verbs like 'volvere,' 'reputare,' and regarded by critics as an archaism or imitation of Cato.

l. 22. **mediocris**, 'of moderate ambition.'

transvorsos agit, 'makes them swerve from the path of rectitude;' cf. 14. 20. The expression occurs in late writers like Seneca and Quintilian.

l. 23. **studia in Iugurtham accensa.** Borrowed probably by Tac. Ann. 3. 4, 3, 'studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam.'

l. 28. c. 7. **obiectare periculis.** A poetic phrase; cf. Verg. Aen. 2. 751, and Tac. Hist. 2. 33, 4. This charge against Micipsa may remind us of the design against Germanicus, imputed by Tacitus to Tiberius (Ann. 2. 42, 1), 'amoliri iuvenem specie honoris statuit.' There could be no evidence of the motive in question.

l. 29. **bello Numantino.** The brave Spanish town of Numantia, upon the upper Durius, was forced by the aggression and perfidy of Roman generals to fight on to the bitter end. With only 8000 defenders she routed the legions year after year, and forced a whole army to capitulate, and was only reduced at last by the overpowering numbers with which Scipio drew his besieging lines round the devoted city, and forced her at last, not by force of arms, but by starvation, to surrender, 133 B.C.

l. 31. **saevitia**, 'fierceness,' rather than 'cruelty;' cf. Verg. Aen. 11. 910, 'saevum Aeneam agnovit Turnus in armis.'

P. 95, l. 1. **naturam P. Scipionis.** The conqueror of Carthage and Numantia, who stood out among the incapable generals of his time, showed patient tenacity rather than genius in his successes. In both wars he found a demoralized army in which his first task was to revive the stringency of the old Roman discipline, and make hardy soldiers of his men by rigorous drill and constant labour in the trenches.

l. 7. **in primis.** Often used by Sallust to strengthen an adjective; cf. Cat. 3. 2; 51. 41.

l. 8. **quorum alterum**, referring by *constr. ad sensum* to the two alternatives just stated, as 'utrumque' in Cat. 1. 6. The two are transposed by the common form of Chiasmus. The whole passage is

probably suggested by Thuc. 2. 40, 4, *διαφερόντως τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει.*

l. 10. **in amicis habere.** The great nobles of the later days of the Republic began to make elaborate arrangements as to the visiting lists of their friends, and to divide them into different classes, 'primae et secundae admissionis,' etc. The emperors carried this further, and their intimates and courtiers took rank accordingly.

l. 12. **frustra erat.** This combination is frequent in Sallust as in Plautus and Cato. Cf. note on 'abunde,' Cat. 21. 1.

l. 13. **quis.** The contracted form often occurs in this treatise, but there is no well-attested example of it in the Catiline. Cf. note on 18. 1.

l. 15. **c. 8. novi.** Quintus Pompeius, commander there in 140, was 'a new man,' but he failed signally as a soldier, and proved only his scandalous duplicity.

l. 17. **factiosi domi.** How strong was the influence of the noble coteries at Rome at this time was shown by the impunity enjoyed by the incapable generals of Numantia, who were disobedient and corrupt as well as weak.

potentes apud socios. Their influence was due to the contrivance of the Roman magistrates, to the wide-spread connexions of the capitalists in the provinces and among the 'publicani,' and to corruption in the jury courts, which made it hopeless to bring offenders to justice.

clari magis quam honesti seems to be borrowed by Livy, 8. 27, 3, 'clari magis inter populares quam honesti.'

l. 18. **non mediocrem.** Contrasted with the 'mediocris viros' of 6. 3.

l. 21. **omnia venalia.** Successful diplomacy and conquest had fatally corrupted the old Roman character. The aristocracy became a narrow oligarchy of a few ruling families, who relied upon their wealth to secure office and keep the people in good humour, while they pillaged the world to provide means for their lavish outlay.

deleta. This was literally true; the inhabitants were sold as slaves, and the town utterly destroyed.

l. 22. **auxilia,** the contingents of the allies, which now commonly exceeded the strength of the Roman legions.

l. 23. **in praetorium abduxit.** So Livy, 30. 14, 4, '(Scipioni) Laelius et Masinissa supervenerunt; quos quum . . . egregiis laudibus frequenti praetorio celebrasset, abductum in secretum Masinissam sic alloquitur.' The 'praetorium,' or general's tent, was so called in old times when the term 'praetor' was the name for the general in command, and did not imply judicial functions.

l. 24. **publice quam privatim**, 'by services to the state rather than gifts to individual Romans.'

l. 27. **illi.** For this use of 'ille,' instead of 'is,' cf. 51. 4; 62. 1; 33. 4.

l. 28. **venturum** agrees with 'regnum,' which is more prominent in the thought than 'gloriam;' cf. 111. 1, 'amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae partem, . . . tunc ultro adventuram.' Otherwise the predicate would be in the plural, according to the usage of Sallust.

l. 33. c. 9. **senatui et populo Romano**, for the common formula 'senatus populusque R.' Sallust often uses this variation, as well as 'senatus atque pop. R.' and 'populus et senatus R.'

P. 96, l. 5. **vincere**, 'gain over;' not as 102. 11, 'benificiis victum.'

l. 7. **paucos post annos.** Numantia was destroyed 133 B. C. Micipsa died in 118 (Livy, Ep. 62).

l. 12. c. 10. **in regnum meum**, 'my royal house.' Though Micipsa may not have thought of the adoption so early he wishes here to imply that he had done so.

l. 13. **liberis**, though in all the MSS., seems out of place with 'si genuissem.' It is doubtful whether Micipsa could have taken charge of Jugurtha before the birth of his own children, and 'ob benificia' would qualify 'liberis' in its present place. It would be easier to take 'si genuissem' of Jugurtha.

l. 14. **falsum**, in a passive sense, as 85. 20, 'illi falsi sunt.'

l. 15. **meque regnumque.** So Cat. 9. 3, 'seque remque publicam.' When Sallust repeats the 'que' there is always a personal pronoun as the first of the two words thus connected, except in 100. 5.

l. 16. **honoravisti.** The reading of a good MS., 'oneravisti,' seems more probable.

l. 18. **renovatum**, referring to the reputation which Masinissa had won in Spain.

l. 20. **per regni fidem**, 'by the honour of a king,' which Jugurtha was soon to be.

moneo obtestorque. A favourite formula with Sallust; cf. 49. 2; 62. 1.

l. 30. **ante hos.** For this use of 'ante,' cf. Cat. 53. 3.

P. 97, l. 2. **liberos**, in the plural, to correspond to the object of 'genuisse,' as well as 'sumpsisse.'

l. 4. c. 11. **ficta**, 'insincere.'

l. 5. **aliter** for 'alia,' as Cat. 45. 5, 'bene polliceantur;' and 85. 27, 'bene praedicent' for 'bona.'

l. 7. **more regio.** The two great monuments of ancient days, called the Medrassen and the Tombeau de la Chrétienne, were probably royal tombs like the pyramids of Egypt. The base is in each case nearly 200

feet in diameter, and consists of an encircling zone presenting a vertical wall with 60 engaged columns, while above rises a series of steps forming a sort of truncated cone. One is thought to be that of Masinissa, the other of Juba II; cf. Playfair 'In the steps of Bruce,' pp. 25 and 58.

l. 7. **iusta.** Sc. 'officia.'

reguli, dimin., not of youth, but of limited power.

l. 9. **minumus.** The 'natu' which should qualify 'minumus' is often omitted, as by Livy, 1. 53, 5.

l. 10. **materno genere inpar**, repeated 108. 1, and copied by Tacitus, Hist. 2. 50, 1, 'maternum genus impar.' It seems to have been the grandmother who was of lower rank, not the mother of J.; cf. 5. 7.

l. 11. **dextra Adherbalem adsedit**, 'sat down on the right hand of Adherbal.' Both 'adsidēre' and 'assidēre' take an acc. at times; cf. Tac. Ann. 4. 58, 4.

l. 12. **apud Numidas honori.** Romans and Parthians also laid stress on this, for Sulla took the middle place between Ariobarzanes and the ambassador from Parthia, who is said to have suffered in consequence from his master's displeasure (Plutarch, Sulla 5).

l. 13. **fatigatus.** Often used absolutely, without 'precibus,' by Sallust, as by Tacitus, Hist. 1. 29, 1.

l. 15. **iacit.** Used of incidental remarks or suggestions thrown out; cf. Tac. Ann. 4. 68, 4, 'Latiaris iacere fortuitos primum sermones.'

l. 19. **adoptatione.** This older form of 'adoptio' is only once used by Cicero. Dietsch proposes to omit the word on the ground that the 'statim adoptavit' of 9. 3 points to an earlier date for this step, if not for the grant of succession to the throne.

l. 20. **verbum**, 'expression;' cf. Cat. 52. 1, and the frequent use in Plautus.

ratus erat, 'would have supposed;' cf. Cic. pro Sest. 9. 22, 'numquam putavi,' 'I never should have thought.'

l. 26. **c. 12. propter dissensionem**, i.e. the disagreement at their first conference had shown the need of strictly defined limits of authority.

l. 30. **Thirmida.** The site and history of this town are unknown.

proxumus lictor. The attendants of the Roman magistrates preceded them in regular order of rank, beginning with the lowest in dignity. The technical term 'lictor' is transferred from Roman usage like the military titles; cf. Cat. 53. 3.

P. 98, l. 8. **tugurio.** Commonly a 'hut,' here probably some 'cell' or outbuilding. The *e* of 'tegere' is assimilated to the following vowel, as to *o* in 'socors.'

mulieris ancillae. For this use of an attributive subst. cf. 64. 1, 'contemptor animus,' Cat. 38. 1, 'homines adulescentes.'

l. 14. **c. 13. illum alterum.** Cf. 16. 5.

l. 20. **provinciam.** The former territory of Carthage, which was reserved by Rome under the specialized name of Africa when the kingdom of Numidia was enlarged. Its borders were Tabraca on the river Tusca on the west, and Thenae on the east, but inland the frontier is vaguely marked by the names of Aquae regiae, Zama regia, Bulla regia. It did not therefore include all the old Phoenician colonies, for Hippo regius and Leptis magna lay beyond it, and within seven of the old cities ranked as free towns. It seems to have been of little use in the war except as a basis of operations. Under ordinary conditions it would have been governed by a praetor or propraetor.

l. 22. **potiebatur,** 'was entering into possession of.' For use of imperf. with 'postquam,' cf. Cat. 56. 4, Jug. 58. 7.

l. 26. **praecipit.** On variations of MSS. here and in like passages, cf. note on Cat. 41. 5.

l. 30. **hospitibus.** Probably the old friends and connexions of Jugurtha, not the official *πρόξενοι* of Numidia.

l. 32. **favorem.** We are told by Quintilian that Cicero regarded this word as a novelty: the innovation, however, probably consisted in extending the use of it from the applause of an audience or of spectators at the games to general approval. Cf. Cic. pro Sest. 54. 115, 'qui rumore et, ut ipsi loquuntur, favore populi tenetur' (with note of Reid ap. Holden).

l. 33. **quorum** refers by *constr. ad sensum* to 'nobilitas.'

P. 99, l. 1. **gravius . . consuleretur.** This verb is often used by Sallust with an adverb, 'bene,' 'male,' 'honeste,' and the like. Cicero avoids the construction.

l. 3. **senatus . . datur,** 'audience is granted.' Livy often has this formula for special business of the senate.

l. 6. **c. 14. procurationem,** 'stewardship.' The 'procurator' was a bailiff or agent deputed to manage business or conduct a case in the law-courts. The stewards of the imperial household gradually passed into functionaries of state, and the term 'procurator' then became of political importance.

l. 13. **sustinet.** A strong word to express perhaps the weight of the burden of Jugurtha's crimes.

l. 17. **possem.** In support of this Jordan refers to the like sequence in 24. 9, but the best MSS. have 'posse me,' which is preferable.

l. 18. **ac maxume.** 'If possible that the Roman people should owe me services of which I had no need, or failing that, if I must want their help, that I should have a right to claim it.'

l. 25. **in suis dubiis rebus**, 'when their fortune was wavering.'

adpetiverunt. One of the very few cases in which the termination in *-erunt* is found in the best MSS. of Sallust; cf. note on Cat. 3. 1.

l. 27. **quo tempore.** There is little truth in this. Masinissa had changed sides more than once in the struggle between Rome and Carthage. When he ultimately joined the former, she had already proved herself the stronger, and was on the high road to victory.

l. 28. **quorum**, referring to 'familia;' cf. 13. 8.

l. 33. **prohibere iniuriam.** A large programme of intervention on high moral grounds that would have sounded strangely in the ears of Roman statesmen.

P. 100, l. 11. **iure**, 'naturally;' i. e. by right of superior power.

patiebamur. Yet the aggression was all on their side, and the Carthaginians were the sufferers.

l. 14. **nisi forte.** The only passage in which this expression occurs in Sallust with a conjunct., and without irony.

l. 15. **scelere . . sese ecferens**, 'in a transport of guilty insolence.' In older Latin to the time of Cicero *ec* is the usual form of the prepos. before *f*, as in 'ecfari,' though before other consonants *ex* is found; cf. Corssen, 1. 155.

l. 19. **in imperio vostro**, 'within the range of your empire.'

l. 20. **extorrem** points to an old form 'torra' = 'terra.'

l. 21. **tutius . . essem.** This is a bold extension of the usage by which adverbs like 'frustra,' 'abunde,' etc., are combined by him with the verb 'esse.' Cf. 87. 4, 'laxius licentiusque futuros;' 94. 1, 'uti prospectus facilius foret.'

l. 25. **quod in familia**, 'our family has taken good care that all the help which it could render should be at your disposal.'

l. 32. **naturae concessit**, 'obeyed nature's call.'

P. 101, l. 2. **pars . . acti.** A common construction in Livy and other writers.

l. 5. **quae aut amisi aut.** Cf. note on 35. 3.

ex necessariis, 'though of my own kith and kin.'

l. 9. **honestarum**, 'respectable,' 'suited to my rank;' so Cat. 7. 6.

quo adcedam. Donatus, in a note to Terence, Hec. 3. 3, 18, says that Sallust has the phrase 'quo accidam,' and some editors have accepted it in this passage against all MS. authority. Ennius, ap. Cic. Tusc. 3. 19, also uses it.

l. 17. **fore.** Depending on a verb implied in 'instituit.'

l. 19. **volentibus.** Equivalent to 'benevolis,' cf. 73. 3.

ll. 28–31. **ne . . reddat.** If 'ne' be taken in the sense of 'nae' (*ναί*), the conjunct. must be explained as due to the hypothetical case expressed in the foregoing sentence. It may seem simpler, however, to suppose

'ne' = 'caveat ne.' The difficulty has caused some editors to read 'reddet.'

l. 31. **iamiam.** Cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 371, 'iam iam nec maxima Iuno | nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.'

l. 33. **unde** for 'a quo.' Cf. note on Cat. 5. 2.

laetandum. Cf. note on Cat. 51. 29.

P. 102, l. 3. **amisisti.** Taken by zeugma in different shades of meaning: 'You have not only lost a kingdom, but have been spared,' etc.

l. 6. **cuius.** Referring to 'ipse,' 'though my power.'

l. 7. **emori,** 'a speedy death.'

l. 18. **c. 15. ultro,** 'as the aggressor.'

l. 20. **putarent.** The plur. by *constr. ad sensum* with 'senatus,' as commonly in Livy, but rarely in Cicero.

l. 21. **utrique,** 'both parties.'

l. 23. **depravata.** The sing. is here, as in 85. 46, used with 'magna pars,' possibly to avoid confusion with 'fautores.' Elsewhere it takes a plural.

l. 29. **Scaurus.** The cognomen of Scaurus ('bandy-legged;' 'Scaurum pravis fultum male talis,' Hor. S. 1. 3, 48) was hereditary in a branch of the patrician Aemilii, which had never before attained to much distinction. The father of M. Aemilius Scaurus is said to have been a charcoal merchant of narrow means, and the son a money-lender. He worked his way up to the consulship in 115, and the censorship in 109, when he made the Aemilian road in North Italy. As 'princeps senatus' and a resolute conservative he had great influence with the senate, and even with the commons, though often singled out for attack by political rivals. His large fortune rapidly amassed gave colour to the charges which Sallust repeats as part of the scandalous gossip of the times, and C. Memmius taunted him with his unscrupulous greed at the trial of Bestia (Cic. de Orat. 2. 70). But Cicero spoke of him in the language of unmeasured praise ('ecquem hominem videmus parem consilio, gravitate, constantia, ceteris virtutibus . . . M. Aemilio Scauro,' pro Font. 24), and he was probably referred to by Juvenal as a type of censorian rigour (11. 91). His memoirs served afterwards as historical materials, and Cicero calls them useful, though he adds 'that no one reads them now' (Brut. 29).

l. 32. **veritus.** Sallust does not scruple to impute motives and claim full knowledge of thought as well as action.

l. 33. **polluta.** The word 'polluere' is commonly applied to holy persons or pure things which are defiled; sometimes, however, in a more general way, as 63. 7, 'novus nemo tam clarus erat . . . quin . . . quasi pollutus haberetur.' It is a still bolder extension of its use to employ 'polluta,' as equivalent to 'foeda,' as an epithet of 'licentia.'

P. 103, l. 1. c. 16. vero. The neut. adj. in a substantival sense is rarely used in the dat., though very often in acc.

l. 2. **pretium aut gratiam,** 'bribery or intrigue.'

decem legati. Cf. note on 21. 4. The senatorian commission generally consisted of ten members, when their duty was to organize a province, or arrange with a victorious general for lands recently annexed.

l. 4. **legationis princeps.** The president was not specially named, but was the deputy whose senatorian rank was highest.

L. Opimius, as praetor in 125 B.C., had stamped out the fire of insurrection among the Latin colonies by the destruction of Fregellae; as consul in 121 he headed the attack on the Aventine where the partisans of C. Gracchus had taken up arms in their defence, and offered to give for the heads of the insurgents their weight in gold. Three thousand, it is said, were put to death either in the streets or in the prosecutions that soon followed.

l. 8. **adcuratissume,** 'with most scrupulous courtesy.'

l. 9. **fama fide.** The ablatives here are to be explained as due to the comparison implied by 'anteferret,' like the abl. of comp. following 'potius' or 'prius.' Some editors read 'famae,' and then take 'fide' as the rare dative of 'fides,' thus leaving 'anteferret' its usual construction. It is a still bolder assumption to make 'famae' the gen. after 'fide' as Dietsch does.

l. 13. **agro virisque opulentior.** As it was the more remote from the civilizing influence of the Phoenician towns, and inhabited by the wilder and more nomad races, it does not seem to have been the better portion, though it may have furnished hardier soldiers for an ambitious prince.

l. 14. **illam alteram.** Cf. 13. 1. It was obviously to the interest of Rome not to have a prince of energy and ambition close on her frontier, and the principle of the division therefore is better explained by policy than bribery.

l. 15. **possedit,** 'took possession of.' From 'possido.'

l. 16. **c. 17. Africae.** This word originally denoted the very limited region of the Afri, or the later Zeugitana. It was afterwards extended to include Byzacium, or the eastern strip of Tunisia, and its meaning was gradually widened with the annexations and knowledge of Rome.

l. 19. **minus frequentata,** 'less frequently visited' by travellers.

l. 20. **conpertum narraverim,** 'find any sure account to give.' Cf. Tac. Ann. 2. 12, 4, 'tribunos laeta saepius quam comperta nunciare.'

l. 22. **plerique.** Herodotus (2. 16) criticises the Ionian geographers who divided the world into the three parts, Europe, Asia, and Africa; considering that the two last were divided by the Nile, but leaving the

Delta unaccounted for. This division seems to have been established in his time, and was accepted by Strabo and others.

l. 23. **pauci.** Herodotus would put Libya (or Africa) in Asia, and thought Europe far larger than both together. Isocrates refers to the twofold division (Paneg. 48), and Varro says (de L. L. 5. 31), 'divisa est coeli regionibus terra in Asiam et Europam.' Cf. Lucan 9. 411, 'Tertia pars rerum Libyae, si credere famae | cuncta velis; at si ventos coelumque sequaris | pars erit Europae.'

l. 24. **fretum.** The Straits of Gibraltar, or 'fretum Gaditanum,' as explained by Pomponius Mela 1. 1, 'angustias introitumque venientis (maris) nos fretum, Graeci *πορθμὸν* appellant.'

l. 25. **nostri maris.** The Mediterranean sea was commonly so called by the Romans; cf. 18. 4.

declivem latitudinem. Cf. Pomponius Mela 1. 8, 'Catabathmos vallis devexa in Aegyptum finit Africam;' and again, 'a C. magno continuus est in Aegyptum descensus.' This was the name given to the sandy plateau which gradually dips towards the valley of the Nile, the modern Djebel Akabah el Kébir.

l. 26. **mare saevom.** Illustrated by the great losses from shipwrecks in the First Punic War.

l. 27. **inportuosum.** Cf. Pliny, N. H. 5. 1, 'non alia pars terrarum pauciores recipit sinus.' Of the large number of Phoenician colonies scattered along the north coast of Africa very few had natural harbours of any size or security.

ager frugum fertilis. Cf. Pliny, 18. 10, 'tritico nihil est fertilius . . . utpote cum e modio, si sit aptum solum, quale in Byzacio Africae campo, centeni quinquageni . . . modii reddantur. Misit ex eo loco Divo Augusto procurator eius ex uno grano quadringenta paucis minus germina.' Herodotus speaks of the land near the Cinyps returning three hundred for one, though the return now is hardly more than tenfold there.

bonus pecori. The central plateau between the Great and Little Atlas, with the wide steppes of the salt lakes, is specially suited for pasturage as the great valleys of the coast-lands are for corn. Compare the picturesque description of Vergil, Georg. 3. 339-349.

arbori. For this use of the sing. cf. 48. 3, 'collis vestitus oleastro;' 57. 4, 'glande pugnare.' The want of timber is still a general characteristic of the country, though there are great forests near the coast and in the recesses of the mountains. There was probably much more in the later days of Roman occupation, as in the region of Tunis the ruins of Roman oil-mills are often seen on what are now arid and treeless plains. The Arabs recklessly cleared the ground after their conquest. Ibn Khaldoun says: 'The vast region between Tripoly and Tangier, which had the appearance of an immense thicket, under the shade of

which rose a multitude of villages touching each other, now offered no other aspect than that of ruins' (Playfair, Travels, p. 155).

l. 28. **penuria aquarum.** This is especially the case during the dry season from April to October, when little or no rain falls, and the streams nearly all dry up. The rivers are mountain-torrents in the winter, but beds of rocks or sandy Wadys in the summer. The rainfall, however, increases with the nearness to the eastern coast. Pliny fancifully connects the scarcity of water with the abundance of animal types, 'ideo (inopia aquarum ad paucos amnes congregantibus se feris) multiformes ibi animalium partus' (8. 16). In this description one characteristic feature is strangely enough omitted, that of the mountains. The chains of the Great and Little Atlas, with the secondary chains which diverge from them, divide the country into innumerable valleys, and leave little easy communication between the upland regions and the coast-lands.

genus hominum salubri corpore. Cf. the account of Masinissa in Cic. de Senect. 10, 'arbitror te audire, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie 90 annos natus: cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere, cum equo, ex equo non descendere, nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit.'

l. 31. **malifici generis.** Cf. Pomponius Mela 1. 4, on Africa, 'infestantur multo ac malefico genere animalium.' Shaw enumerates the lion, panther, dubbah (perhaps the hyaena of the ancients), malignant viper, locust, and scorpion (1. 315). Large numbers of the fiercer animals were sent thence to the amphitheatres of Italy. Fancy dealt freely with this subject, thus we read in Pliny (N. H. 8. 14) of a battle between the army of Atilius Regulus and a monstrous serpent which was 120 feet long. Leo Africanus speaks of the huge dragons in the caves of the Atlas, 'they are most venomous creatures, insomuch that whosoever is bitten or touched by them, his flesh presently waxeth soft, neither can he by any means escape death.'

P. 104, l. 1. **plerosque optinet.** Commonly the phrase 'fama obtinet' is used without an object.

l. 2. **ex libris Punicis.** Though there was a native Libyan, or Berber language, yet the Phoenician was received as a cultivated language in the ruling families. The descendants of Masinissa bore Punic names, and Numidian coins had afterwards Phoenician characters upon them.

Hiempsalis. Not the prince who was killed in c. 12, but a later one who ruled after the war, and who seems to have had literary and historic tastes, like the more famous Juba of later times.

interpretatum. Passive use of a verb commonly deponent; cf. note on 'adepta,' Cat. 7. 3.

l. 4. **fides eius rei,** 'the warrant for the story.' The sentence is said by Seneca (Qu. Nat. 4. 3) to have been a common formula with writers who did not care to vouch for a story which they repeated.

l. 6. c. 18. **Gaetuli.** This is a general name for the native populations found on the southern slopes of the Atlas range, and among the oases to the north of the Great Sahara. They are also called Mazices (the Μάζυες of Herodotus) and Sophakes (whence the Sophax or Syphax of the Massaesyli). The Berber name for them is Amâzigh.

Libyes. The general name for the native Berbers of the north of Africa, including the Afri, the Zeugi of Zeugitana, and the Byzes of Byzacium. They were at an early date an agricultural people, with a distinct language and written characters which are still preserved in inscriptions.

l. 8. **neque moribus neque lege.** This is but a conjectural account of early nomad life.

l. 9. **vagi palantes.** Over the great steppes of the Atlas, and on the southern slopes, the natural conditions tend to nomad habits, and early traditions point to a wide dispersion of several of the native races.

l. 10. **Hercules . . interiit.** There are Greek legends of Heracles which connect him with the West of Europe, such as those of Geryoneus, the Hesperides, and Atlas, in which the features of a solar myth are seen under a thin disguise. In these he appears alone, but the local legends of Africa and Spain bring him thither from Asia with an army composed of various races which settle there, and under his lead found ancient cities. He is the Tyrian Melkart, the patron deity of the Phoenician sailors, who reappears as Makar, Malchus, Himilco, etc.; his motley train points to the mingled elements of many an early colony which needed soldiers of fortune to protect it, and fresh settlers to recruit its strength; they come through Spain, for Tarshish (Tartessus) was the earliest centre of Tyrian influence in the West. Libyan versions of the legend grew up at a time when the rivalry of race was strong between the natives and the Punic peoples, and they therefore ignore the Phoenician followers of Melkart, naming in their stead the famous peoples of Asia from whom they were proud to claim descent.

l. 11. **conpositus ex variis gentibus.** Cf. Diod. 4. 19, *πολλοῦ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους ἑκουσίως συστρατεύοντος*: Plin. N. H. 3. 3, 'in universam Hispaniam M. Varro pervenisse Iberos et Persas et Phoenices Celtasque et Poenas tradit.' Arabians, Scythians, and Greeks are named by other writers (Movers, Phön. 2. 114).

l. 12. **sibi quisque.** The nom. cannot be defended on any principle of grammar. In a passage sometimes compared with it (Livy, 21. 45, 4, 'omnes, velut Diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, proelium

. . . poscunt') the 'quisque' is really in apposition with 'omnes,' but in the text the construction is changed, and the 'quisque' cannot be regarded as the nom. to the verb. If not = 'quibusque' the idiom grew out of the habitual repetition of a phrase the strict construction of which was lost sight of. So in Justin. 29. 1, 8, 'in suorum quisque maiorum vestigia nitentibus magna indoles enituit.'

l. 13. **Persae.** Early Libyan traditions, which deal with the Persian immigrants, are mentioned by Pliny (5. 8) and others, and the Berber historians also spoke of them. They are connected in fancy with the Pharusii to the S.W. of Mauretania and Fez, of which an older name was Fars. Cf. also Ezek. 27. 10, 'They of Persia and of Lud and of Phut were in thy army.'

l. 14. **locos.** Often used by Sallust in the masc. plur. of districts.

l. 15. **intra Oceanum magis,** 'nearer to the coast of the Ocean.' Cf. for this use of 'intra,' Cic. pro Sext. 27. 58, 'Antiochum illum Magnum maiores nostri intra montem Taurum regnare iusserunt.'

l. 18. **ignara.** In a passive sense as 52. 4, 'regio hostibus ignara,' and often in Tacitus.

l. 22. **mapalia.** Cf. Livy, 29. 31, 4, 'familiae aliquot cum mapalibus pecoribusque suis persecuti sunt regem;' Lucan 4. 684, 'et solitus vacuis errare mapalibus Afer | venator;' Tac. Ann. 4. 25, 1. The original form of the word seems to be 'magaria' or 'megara.' Cf. Isidor. Or. 15. 12, 'magalia dicti quasi magaria, quod Punici novam villam dicunt.' So Servius on Vergil, Aen. 1. 425. This explanation was a mistake which grew out of the fact that the 'new town' of Carthage was called Megara from the 'holes' or 'huts' of the early inhabitants. Cf. Schröder, Ph. Sp. 104.

l. 23. **quasi navium carinae.** Modern travellers testify to the accuracy of this comparison as applying now to the keel-shaped hut ('gurbi') of the Bedouins. The 'adhuc' expresses the surprise of Sallust that Roman civilisation had not effaced these singularities. Procopius says the like nearly 600 years afterwards. Sulpicius Severus, describing them, says that the natives are in stormy weather safer anywhere than in their homes: Dialog. 1. 3, 'parvum tugurium . . . contiguum terrae, satis firmis tabulis constratum . . . quod ventorum ibi vis est ut si quando vel clementior coelo aliquantulus spirare flatus coeperit, maius in illis terris quam in ullo mari naufragium sit.' So Maltzan speaks of an Arab who always left his house when the wind was high.

l. 24. **adcessere Libyes.** To make 'Libyes' the nom. to 'adcessere' is to change the order of the thought and disturb the context. The reading 'Medi . . . adcessere Libyes' would give a natural order of thought, and the construction would then be like that of 20. 3.

mare Africum, i.e. the waters that wash the Northern coast,

where the early province of Africa was made out of the territory of Carthage.

l. 25. **agitabant.** Abs. for 'lived,' like 'agebant.' Cf. note on Cat. 2. 1.

l. 26. **ardoribus,** 'the torrid zone,' abstract for concrete.

l. 27. **inter se,** i.e. Medi and Hispani, the latter being understood in 'ab Hispania.' For a similar *constr. ad sensum,* cf. Cat. 18. 2.

l. 28. **Mauros pro Medis.** The ancients understood by 'Mauri' a darker race than the Libyan peoples. Cf. Juv. 5. 53, 'nigri manus ossea Mauri;' Isidor. 14. 5, 10, 'Mauretania vocata a colore populorum, Graeci enim nigrum *μαῦρον* vocant.' Like the Garamantes of the desert they are referred to the Aethiopian race, which in early days streamed over the North of Africa, though it was driven afterwards to the West and South of Libya. The Median origin is of course impossible.

l. 29. **nomine Numidae.** Festus explains the name thus: 'Numidas dicimus, quod Graeci nomades, sive quod id genus hominum pecoribus negotiatur, sive quod herbis ut pecora aluntur.' The wandering habits which we associate with the name of 'nomads' do not appear in his description.

l. 30. **digressi possedere ea loca.** Movers believes that this belongs to a genuine native tradition of which many other traces have been found. It points, he thinks, to the early Tyrian colonies on the West of Africa founded under the auspices of Melkart and garrisoned by mercenary bands. These soldiers of fortune seem to have made common cause with native tribes—perhaps for the ruin of their masters—and to have swept over the North, and occupied what was afterwards Numidia. The Phoenician impress which they had received already lasted on among the ruling families, as is shown by personal and local names, just as the contact of the Libyan and Semitic immigrants on the East gave rise to the Liby-Phoenician people.

l. 31. **quae . . . appellatur.** Cf. Cat. 53. 3, 'locus quod Tullianum appellatur.'

proxuma Carthagine. Here, as in 19. 4, the abl. is accepted in the text with 'proxuma' on the authority of the grammarian Arusianus, though the best MSS. have 'Carthaginem.' In 75. 6 and 94. 5 the construction may be either that of dative or abl. Less frequently Sallust has the acc. after 'proxumus.'

l. 32. **utrique,** i.e. the indigenous Numidians, and the mixed race of Persians and Numidians.

P. 105, l. 2. **pars inferior,** i.e. nearer to the sea-coast. It occurs also in the Invect. in Sall. 7. 19.

l. 3. **pleraque ab Numidis possessa.** The range of the term Numidia was afterwards narrowed, as that of Africa was widened, and the

two provinces called Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana were cut out of it on the Western side.

l. 3. **in gentem . . . concessere,** 'were merged in the race.'

l. 5. c. 19. **multitudinis . . . minuendae.** There was little room on the narrow strip of coast for the growing populations of a trading people, and streams of emigrants went forth for centuries in the age of the ascendancy both of Sidon and of Tyre.

l. 6. **imperi cupidine.** Commercial enterprise was probably the ruling motive, but the colonies, unlike those of Greece, were retained as subjects of the empire first of Tyre, and afterwards of Carthage. In some cases no doubt civil strife caused a discontented faction to retire and seek fresh homes like the followers of Elisa, who refounded Carthage. These were independent from the first, creditable indeed ('decori'), but no substantial help ('praesidio') to the parent state.

l. 7. **Hipponem.** There are two towns of this name, Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerta), near Utica, and Hippo Regius to the West, near Bona. The latter was called 'regius' from Hala, king of the Massyli, who made it his residence. Masinissa, after conquering Syphax, king of the Massaesyli, combined the two into one nation, and made Hippo one of his capitals. Gesenius derives it from 'ipu' = 'beauty' (in Phoenician), like Joppa.

Hadrumetum, now Sûsa, on the northern coast of the ancient district of Byzacium, was one of the seven towns which deserted Carthage in the Third Punic War, and were rewarded with their freedom. Though its trade suffered when Carthage rose once more from its ruins, the richness of its soil and climate made it wealthy and splendid.

Leptim. Either Leptis Minor (Lemta), near Hadrumetum, or Leptis Magna (Lebda) beyond Tripoli. The context points to the former, but the latter is mentioned below in this chapter.

l. 9. **originibus suis,** 'mother-towns.' There is a like use of the abstract for the concrete several times in Livy.

nam, as often elsewhere, implies a suppressed sentence; 'I say nothing of Carthage for,' etc. Cf. 31. 2; 82. 2; Cat. 52. 34.

l. 12. **ad Catabathmon . . . prima,** 'in the direction of Catabathmos . . . first comes.' Cf. note on 17. 4.

l. 13. **secundo mari,** 'following the line of the coast.' So Orosius (1. 2) in a similar passage. Cf. 'secundo flumine,' Caesar, B. G. 7. 58, 5. Some critics will have 'secundum mare.'

colonia Theraeon. For the foundation legend of Cyrene, and its connexion with the island of Thera, cf. Herod. 4. 150. The Greek form of the gen. plur. in Theraeon and Philaenon is unusual in a Latin dress.

l. 14. **Leptis.** The Leptis Magna (now Lebda), called *νεάπολις* by the Greeks to distinguish it from the old town on the Cinyps founded by the Spartan Dorieus. It was rich enough to pay as tribute to Carthage a talent daily, and was occupied by Masinissa after the Second Punic War (Livy, 34. 62). It was one of the three cities which gave a name to the modern Tripoli. A modern traveller says, 'Leptis seems to unite in one beautiful spot all the advantages of plenty, convenience and security,' and expresses surprise that Tripoli should have been preferred for the capital of the regency (Beechey, Expl. of North Africa, p. 50). The name Leptis (or Lepki, cf. 'verna Lepcitana,' Renier, 423) is of Libyan origin from Telepte, where 'te' is the feminine article, as in Tabraca, Tunis, Tingi (Schröder, Ph. Sp. 116).

Philaenon arae. Cf. the description in 79. 5. Strabo says that the monument in question had disappeared, but had given a name to the district which he thus defines: *οἱ Φιλαίνων λεγόμενοι βωμοὶ κατὰ μέσην που τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν Σύρτεων γῆν* (5. 171). Major Rennel says that it was seven-ninths of the way from Carthage towards Cyrene.

l. 18. **super Numidiam,** 'to the south of Numidia.' This construction of 'super' with the acc. is rare in prose writers of the last age.

l. 24. **Mulucham,** 'the salt stream' (Schröder, Ph. Sp. 140). Strabo (17. 3, 6) speaks of the *Μολοχὰθ ποταμοῦ, ὃς ὁρίζει τὴν Μαυρουσίων καὶ τὴν Μασαισυλίων γῆν.* It was later the boundary between the two provinces of Mauretania Tingitana and Sitifensis. Under the name of Malwia it now bounds the region of French influence in Africa.

l. 25. **Bocchus.** This name, which often recurs in African history, seems to be identical with the Phoenician Melkarth = 'king of the city,' or 'Melek' = king, found also in Ha-mil-car or Himilco, and contracted in Malchus and Macar. Livy gives us the form Bocchar for a general of Syphax and for a king of Mauretania.

l. 28. **necessitudinem.** Cf. note on Cat. 17. 2.

l. 32. c. 20. **simul et.** Sallust often has this phrase, in which 'et' acquires the meaning of 'also,' which it does not certainly have in any other passage in his works.

P. 106, l. 2. **quem petebat,** 'against whom he was plotting.'

l. 3. **opportunus iniuriae,** 'to be wronged with impunity.' Livy copies this expression (28. 19, 5), 'ne quis unquam civem militemve opportunum iniuriae duceret.'

l. 4. **ex inproviso.** The hurried narrative of Sallust would hardly allow us to believe that it was some years after the commission before war broke out again between the princes. Cf. note on 26. 3.

l. 7. **convortit.** For this reflexive sense, cf. Cat. 6. 7.

l. 14. **secus cesserat.** A euphemism for a disastrous issue. For the use of 'cesserat,' cf. 'prospere cessere,' Cat. 26. 5.

l. 16. **animo iam invaserat.** Cf. Cic. Verr. 1. 51, 135, 'iste qui iam spe et opinione praedam illam devorasset.'

l. 17. **praedatoria manu.** Copied probably by Tac. Ann. 4. 24, 3, 'praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere.'

l. 23. **c. 21. haud longe a mari.** The ancient geographers spoke in different terms; cf. Pomponius Mela 1. 6, 'Cirta procul a mari,' and Strabo, 17. 3, 13, *Κίρτα ἐστὶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ*. But this looseness of statement is characteristic of Sallust.

l. 24. **Cirtam.** The old capital of Syphax (cf. note on 5. 4), and afterwards of Masinissa and Micipsa. It was supposed that 'Cirta' was a Phoenician word for city (cf. Kiriath, Kartha in Carthage, Carteia, Melcarth), but it is now thought to be Numidian, from 'an isolated rock,' owing to the inscription on the coins. Cf. Müller, Num. de l'Afr. 3. 60. Strabo (17. 3, 13) calls it *πόλις εὐερκεστάτη καὶ κατεσκευασμένη τοῖς πᾶσι, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Μικίψα, ὅστις καὶ Ἕλληνας συνῴκισεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοσαύτην ἐποίησεν ὥστ' ἐκπέμπειν μυρίους ἱππέας, διπλασίους δὲ πεζούς.* It was given by Julius Caesar to the P. Sittius of Cat. 21. 3, who had done him good service as a condottiere in the army of the king of Mauretania. It then was occupied by the followers of Sittius. Cf. Mela 1. 7, 30, 'Cirta . . . nunc Sittianorum colonia, quondam regum domus.' Under the Empire it became the centre of a cluster of colonies, called the 'coloniae Cirtenses,' reaching to the coast, but took a new name from the Emperor Constantine, by which it is now known.

diei extremum. For this substantival use of the neut. sing. cf. 37. 4, 'in praerupti montis extremo;' 90. 1, 'aestatis extremum erat;' 93. 2, 'ad summum montis;' and 'plerumque noctis' in the next line.

l. 28. **fugant funduntque.** More commonly in inverted order, as 58. 3, 'fundere atque fugare;' Cic. Off. 3. 31, 'fusi et fugati.'

l. 29. **togatorum,** i. e. of Romans and Italians who had settled there for purposes of trade, elsewhere called 'negotiatores.' Cf. 'Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam,' Verg. Aen. 1. 282.

l. 31. **coeptum atque patratum.** Copied by Tac. Ann. 12. 16, 4, 'ni proelium nox diremisset, coepta patrataque expugnatio eundem intra diem foret.'

l. 32. **vineis turribusque.** This commonplace of sieges is absurd in the case of Cirta, whose site was so exceptional. Constantine is built upon a peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides except towards the south-west, where it is joined by a narrow neck of land to the continent. On the northern side it is bounded by precipitous ravines, through which flows the Rummel, the Ampsaga of the ancients. Cp. Farine, Kabyles, p. 48, 'Constantine plantée fièrement sur son rocher à pic, contre lequel les armées romaines, vandales, arabes, turques, sont venues, tour à tour, se heurter.'

P. 107, l. 1. **antecapere.** Cf. note on Cat. 13. 4.

l. 4. **senatus de bello eorum accepit.** The Romans were obliged to interfere again to protect their own frontier from a dangerous neighbour, as England has been in like cases at the Cape and in India, and they had the right to dispose of territory which had been their own, and to defend their dependent.

tres adulescentes. This seems a strange choice for an important commission on a delicate errand. The envoys ('legati') were always senators, generally three in number, though at times five or ten for more important embassies. Some of the members were commonly of high rank, consular or praetorian. It was regarded as a sign of contempt when the embassy to Prusias in 147 B.C. was so composed, 'ut unus ex iis multis cicatricibus sparsum caput haberet, alter pedibus aeger esset, tertius ingenio socors haberetur' (Liv. Epit. 50).

l. 6. **velle et censere.** Commonly used of different bodies, 'velle' of the popular assembly, 'censere' of the senate.

l. 7. **de controversiis . . . disceptare.** These words are not found in the best MSS., and they have been thought interpolated by a scribe who remembered like words in Caesar, Bell. Civ. 3. 107, 2, 'iure apud se potius quam inter se armis disceptare,' or Bell. Gall. 8. 55, 2. But they sound more like a technical formula which any writer might borrow from constitutional language. Cf. Jordan, Hermes 1. 244.

l. 9. c. 22. **maturantes veniunt.** So 52. 5, 'festinans pergit;' 44. 6, 'praedas certantes agere.'

l. 11. **clemens.** Used by Tacitus of things: Ann. 13. 38, 5, 'colles clementer assurgentes;' Germ. 1. 3, 'clementer edito iugo.'

l. 12. **neque maius neque carius,** 'nothing he had more respect or affection for than.'

l. 14. **virtute, non malitia.** Cicero objects to this contrast on the ground that 'malitia' had been specialized, as 'malice' is with us. Cf. 'virtutis contraria est vitiositas, sic enim malo quam malitiam appellare eam, quam Graeci *κακίαν* appellant, nam malitia certi cuiusdam vitii nomen est; vitiositas omnium,' Tusc. Disp. 4. 15, 34.

l. 20. **ab iure gentium,** 'his natural right,' as recognised by all races. Cf. Cic. de Off. 3. 23, 'neque vero hoc solum natura, id est iure gentium, sed etiam legibus populorum . . . constitutum est.' It is also called 'ius naturale.'

l. 23. **copia.** As 18. 5 with gerund, but Cat. 17. 6 with infin.

l. 24. c. 23. **propter loci naturam.** Contrast this jejune statement with Blakesley's (Four Months in Algeria, p. 274) 'Constantine on the noblest site, I should think, in the whole world.' If Sallust knew the city, his silence illustrates the comparative indifference of the ancients to the picturesque.

l. 27. **per vim aut dolis.** A variety of constructions frequent in Sallust; cf. 7. 1.

l. 28. **formidinem ostentare.** A phrase repeated by Sallust, 66. 2, the result instead of the causes.

P. 108, l. 1. **confirmat uti . . . pergerent,** 'encourages them to make their way,' past conj. after an historical present.

l. 11. c. **24. benificia,** i. e. the adoption of Jugurtha and the title to the succession.

l. 12. **incertus sum.** Dietsch reads 'incertum est' after the Vatican MS., on the ground that 'incertus sum' in 14. 23, means 'I am undecided.' But Sallust may have used the phrase in different senses; cf. Jordan, Hermes 1. 239.

l. 14. **nisi tamen,** an elliptical expression, meaning 'I will only say, however,' as if it were 'hoc unum tamen addo, me intellegere;' cf. 67. 3; 100. 5.

supra quam ego sum petere = 'aliquid quod supra me est p.,' 'is aiming at a higher mark than myself.' For a similar ellipse with 'supra,' cf. Cat. 3. 2.

l. 23. **quae scribo.** The Vatican MS. has 'scripsi,' and is followed by Dietsch, on the analogy of the close of a letter, but Jordan notes that the 'scripsi' is there added as a sort of postscript, and that it is not necessary in the middle (Hermes 1. 238).

l. 26. **ostentui.** A rare word, in the use of which Sallust is followed by Tacitus (Ann. 12. 14, 6; 15. 64, 2). The *dativus finalis* of which Sallust has several examples, 'usui,' 'receptui,' etc., is much more largely used by Livy and Tacitus.

l. 29. **manibus inpiis.** The omission of the preposition is unusual with 'eripere,' except in the case of persons. In 82. 3, we read 'ex manibus eriperetur.' The MSS. are divided on the point.

P. 109, l. 2. c. **25. eisdem illis,** i. e. whom we mentioned above, 15. 2.

l. 3. **enisum.** Cf. note on 'interpretatum,' 17. 7.

l. 5. **maiores natu.** Not 'adulescentes,' as 21. 4.

l. 7. **consularis.** Scaurus was consul 115 B.C. with M. Caecilius Metellus.

senatus princeps, the first inscribed on the roll of the senate. The title was purely honorary, and carried with it no claims 'de iure,' though the 'princeps' often came forward as the spokesman of his order in times of crisis. Scaurus was 'princeps' in 115 B.C. (Pliny 8. 57, 'princeps M. Scaurus in consulatu'), as in several other periods, though not censor till 109, and the rule therefore did not then apply which was appealed to in Livy 27. 11, 7, that the oldest senator of censorian rank should be styled 'princeps.' None but patricians

were so honoured till Q. Lutatius Catulus was made 'princeps,' 70 B.C.

in invidia erat. So Livy, 29. 37, 12, 'in invidia quum essent censores.'

l. 8. **simul et obsecrati.** Note the change of construction, common also in Thucydides and Tacitus.

l. 9. **Uticam.** The earliest of the Phoenician colonies on the coast of Africa, 1100 B. C. according to Pliny (Movers 2. 2, 148), and for ages a free ally of Carthage. It set the example of revolt at the outset of the Third Punic War, and was rewarded with freedom and broad lands at the close. Augustus gave it the franchise, and Hadrian made it a 'colonia Aelia Hadriana.' The shores are now ten miles away from Buschâter, the site of the old town, for the muddy currents of the Bagradas have silted up the harbour and the bay itself. The only ruins left are the reservoirs of the aqueducts, now used as cattle-sheds. A neighbouring hill marks the spot where once the castle stood. 'Here a beautiful view presents itself over the precincts of the town, the harbour, canals, and moats, of all of which the outlines can be followed. Even the lines of the streets and the ground-plan of the buildings are visible, nothing is wanting but the ruins themselves' (Hesse-Wartegg, Tunis, p. 225).

l. 10. **seque . . . missos,** following a verb 'telling him,' implied in 'literas mittunt.'

l. 14. **porro,** 'on the other hand;' cf. note on Cat. 46. 2.

l. 18. **casum victoriae,** 'chance of victory;' so 56. 4, 'praeclari facinoris casum.' Tacitus has several examples of this use, which is otherwise rare; cf. Ann. 1. 13, 2, 'si casus daretur.'

l. 26. **c 26. Italici,** the traders referred to in 21. 2. There were probably aliens of other countries, as Micipsa is said by Strabo to have induced Greeks to settle there.

l. 33. **deditionem facit.** The siege of Cirta cannot have been earlier than 114 B.C., as Scaurus the commissioner ('consularis') was consul in 115. Livy's Epitome (64) fixes it after the defeat of Carbo in 113. Its fall was probably in 112 B. C.

P. 110, l. 2. **promiscue . . . . interficit.** This is probably a great exaggeration, if not an entire fiction. The traders were not likely to care greatly which of the two sides triumphed, nor was it the policy of Jugurtha to outrage Italian feeling so deeply, or to drive foreign capital out of the country. It was probably a later scandal to blacken the memory of Jugurtha.

l. 5. **c. 27. coepta.** The only case in Sallust of this construction. Elsewhere he uses 'coepi' with the infinitive of the present passive, not only where it has a middle signification, as 41. 10, 'oriri capit,' or 92. 1, but in a purely passive sense, as Cat. 51. 40.

l. 7. **C. Memmius . . . infestus potentiae.** He must have afterwards changed sides or modified his opposition to the oligarchy, for he was regarded in 100 B. C. as a conservative candidate for the consulship, and murdered in a street riot by the Marian party.

l. 12. **lege Sempronia.** This plebiscite of C. Gracchus, passed in 123 B. C., required the senate to determine the consular provinces before the election of the consuls who were to administer them. The object was doubtless to prevent corrupt influence being employed to secure lucrative appointments.

l. 14. **P. Scipio Nasica.** This was the son of the P. Scipio Nasica who took a prominent part in the murderous attack on Tib. Gracchus. Cicero speaks of him as an orator of rare eloquence and wit, though seldom speaking (Brut. 34. 128).

L. Bestia, of the Calpurnian 'gens,' the grandfather of the tribune L. Bestia named by Sallust among the accomplices of Catiline (cf. Cat. 17. 3; 43. 1). As tribune in 121 B. C., he earned the gratitude of the oligarchy by helping to bring back from exile P. Popillius, who had dealt so harshly with the partisans of Tib. Gracchus.

l. 15. **obvenit.** This term is more appropriate for the 'sortitio,' which was frequently resorted to, than for the amicable arrangement ('comparatio') by which the consuls might agree to divide the provinces.

l. 16. **portaretur.** Sallust often has this word in unusual applications; cf. Cat. 6. 5.

l. 21. c. 28. **praecipit.** Commonly used with 'ut,' as Cat. 41. 5; only here without.

l. 22. **adventabant.** The frequentative which Sallust prefers seems here less appropriate.

l. 23. **legatos Iugurthae recipi moenibus.** Foreign ambassadors were not commonly allowed in the heart of Rome. If the senate decided to hear them it met in the temple of Bellona, near the 'villa publica,' in which they were lodged on the Campus Martius, or in that of Apollo, which was also technically 'extra urbem.'

l. 24. **in diebus,** in the sense of 'intra,' as 96. 1; but 38. 10, the prep. is omitted in like case. Cf. a similar treatment, Livy, 37. 1, 'legati Aetoli dimissi urbe eodem die, Italia intra quindecim dies excedere iussi.'

l. 27. **legat sibi.** Appoints as lieutenants ('legati') to himself. So Cic. ad Att. 15. 11, 'Dolabella me sibi legavit.' The 'legati' were senators appointed by the senate, after being proposed by the presiding magistrate, but nominated commonly by the provincial governor under whom they were to serve, and in varying numbers according to the size of the province, or importance of their duties. In the early empire each legion was entrusted to a 'legatus.'

l. 32. **praepediebat**, unusual for 'impedire.'

P. 111, l. 2. **inde Siciliam.** Common usage would lead us to expect a prep. before a large island or region, but Cicero omits it with 'Sardiniam' (L. Man. 12. 34).

l. 6. c. 29. **administrabat.** Sc. Calpurnius. The term is an appropriate one for the duties of a general; cf. Caesar, Bell. Civ. 1. 25, 3, 'bellum administrare.'

l. 9. **ex factione eius.** Cf. the epithet 'factiosus' of Scaurus, 15. 3. The cliques among the governing families constituted a special sign of the times. It was not a system of government by party with definite principles and marked lines of division, but a series of personal struggles among petty coteries which united at times to oppose new aspirants.

l. 12. **redimebat**, 'tried to procure by his bribes;' for the tense, cf. the use of 'leniebant,' 27. 1.

l. 17. **fidei causa.** Cf. 85. 29.

l. 18. **Vagam.** For description, cf. note on 47. 1. Many of the MSS. have 'Vaccam,' but the inscriptions prove that the right form is 'Vaga' (Corpus Inscr. Lat. 8, p. 154).

species, 'cloak;' cf. Cat. 38. 2.

l. 19. **deditionis mora**, 'a truce was observed while they delayed settling the terms of surrender.'

l. 21. **consilio**, the council of war, which commonly consisted of the legati, tribunes, and chief centurions. Old Roman usage required the advice of a council for the 'paterfamilias' in grave domestic questions, for the judge in the court of law, for the governor of a province, as well as for the general in the field. In theory too the senate was the advising council of the consuls.

l. 23. **quasi per saturam**, 'disorderly,' as if the question were not regularly discussed or voted on. For the use of the term 'satura,' cf. Festus, 'satura est cibi genus ex variis rebus conditum et lex multis aliis rebus conferta. Itaque in sanctione legum adscribitur: neve per saturam abrogato aut derogato.'

l. 25. **pro consilio**, 'as the resolution of the council,' or 'in the name of.' Cf. Livy, 4. 26, 6, 'tribuni . . . secedunt proque collegio pronunciant.'

l. 27. **ad magistratus rogandos**, 'to hold the elections;' cf. A. Gell. 13. 15, 4, 'Praetor neque praetorem neque consulem iure rogare potest.'

l. 31. c. 30. **patres solliciti.** Apart from the interests of partisans there were reasons for hesitation. There was danger both from the Cimbri and Thracians at this time, and Jugurtha might be a convenient ally, but a troublesome enemy. On the other hand, the safety of the

frontier seemed to require the partition of Numidia, and though it is not expressly stated by Sallust, the submission of Jugurtha must have been conditional on the recognition of his claims.

l. 33. **parum constabat**, 'they were undecided.'

P. 112, l. 2. **libertate ingeni**, 'independence of character.'

l. 3. **inter dubitationem.** Cf. Cat. 43. 3, 'inter haec parata atque decreta.'

l. 4. **vindicandum**, 'punish.' So used absolutely, Cic. Verr. 1. 32, 82, 'nisi vos vindicatis.'

l. 9. **facundia.** Yet cf. Cic. Brut. 36. 136, 'C. et L. Memmii fuerunt oratores mediocres, accusatores acres atque acerbi.'

l. 10. **perscribere.** Not literally meant, for no ancient historian would insert the exact words of a speaker, but would prefer to express the thoughts in a rhetorical form of his own.

l. 13. c. 31. **dehortantur a vobis**, i. e. 'from addressing you.' This seems copied from Cato's speech 'de Lusitanis' (Jordan, p. 27. 1) 'multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire, anni, aetas, vox, vires, senectus.'

l. 15. **ius nullum**, 'the absence of justice;' cf. Livy, 21. 4, 9, 'nullus deum metus, nullum iusiurandum.'

l. 16. **quindecim.** The MSS. variously give 20, 15, 12, 10. The period meant is probably that which began with the death of Tiberius Gracchus 132 B.C., or possibly that of his brother Caius in 121. None of the numbers would exactly correspond to the interval.

l. 17. **foede.** They were murdered like sheep with hardly an effort at resistance.

l. 18. **inulti.** The only one who had suffered for this murderous violence was P. Popillius Laenas, the consul of 132, and he was formally recalled from exile in 120. L. Opimius was prosecuted indeed in the same year, but his acquittal was a foregone conclusion, and there seems little foundation for the stories that Scipio Nasica and P. Lentulus accepted an honorary embassy to escape the vengeance of the people (cf. Ihne 5. 7).

l. 19. **obnoxiis**, 'detected in their guilt.'

l. 23. **a parente meo.** The interval of oppression is represented as only one generation.

l. 24. **ob rem.** Like 'in rem' of Cat. 20. 1.

l. 26. **armati.** The struggle between the two orders is, however, represented by the annalists as purely constitutional, with little appeal to violence or bloodshed.

l. 27. **secessione.** Cf. note on Cat. 33. 3.

l. 28 **regnum parare.** This was the ominous cry so often repeated in the case of early reformers like Sp. Cassius, M. Manlius Capitolinus.

l. 29. **quaestiones.** An extraordinary tribunal was set up to call

to account the members of the fallen party as guilty of treason, and P. Scipio Nasica, the leader of the oligarchs, was himself a judge, but the victims were men of little note, like the Greek teachers and friends of Tib. Gracchus.

l. 33. **paratio.** Very rare for 'comparatio.'

sua restituere. The objects of the popular leaders had been little short of a revolution, as it was to sweep away entirely the ascendancy of the senate, and to make the commons absolute in fact, as they had been before in name.

P. 113, l. 1. **nequitur.** An archaic passive found in Cato, Plautus, and Lucretius, but afterwards obsolete.

l. 2. **aerarium expilari.** The peculations of the magistrates had been commonly at the expense of the subject-races rather than that of the Treasury, though they had their chances and doubtless used them in dealing with the plunder of war. To take one case only, the government in 168 B.C. gave up the working of the mines in Macedonia because the dishonesty was so great among the 'publicani.'

l. 8. **incedunt per ora.** Cf. Hor. S. 2. 1, 64, 'nitidus qua quisque per ora | cederet.'

sacerdotia et consulatus. Tacitus seems to copy this, Hist. 1. 2, 7, 'sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti.' The lay and priestly offices could be held by the same hands and were indeed often combined.

l. 10. **aere parati.** Cf. Hor. S. 2. 3, 129, 'servosque tuos quos aere pararis.' Bronze was now used only for petty cash payments, and silver was the regular currency, but the old usage prevailed in language, and it is perhaps fanciful to see anything contemptuous in the passage.

l. 16. **tribunos plebis,** who were 'sacrosanct,' or to be screened by special sanctions from personal outrage; yet both the Gracchi were murdered in the streets.

l. 21. **eadem metuere.** Dietsch would omit this as surplusage.

l. 23. **dominationem.** Always in Sallust of unlawful power; cf. Cat. 5. 6.

l. 25. **benificia,** the offices conferred by the votes of the people.

l. 27. **bis . . Aventinum.** According to Livy the scene of the first secession was the Mons Sacer; cf. 2. 32, 3.

l. 29. **atque,** as used by Plautus after a question to strengthen an affirmation, 'certainly and the more,' etc. Cf. Dräger, 2. 46.

l. 30. **dicet aliquis.** Kortte compares the *τί οὖν; ἄν τις εἴποι* of Demosth.; cf. also Plin. Ep. 3. 9, 21.

P. 114, l. 1. **dediticius.** The technical term for any one of the peoples who had formally surrendered to Rome ('in deditionem vene

rant,' cf. Livy, 7. 31, 3), and so used of a distinct category of the subjects, as distinct from the allies who had joined under terms of a treaty ('foederati populi'). It afterwards became a legal term for the freedman who had been branded or fettered while still a slave; cf. Gaius, Inst. 1. 4, 13.

l. 6. **illa quam haec.** The contrast lies between the recent period of oppression and the chance which is now presented of punishing the guilty rulers.

l. 12. **viro flagitiosissumum.** Heathen morality seldom rose above this level, or prized the graces of humility and forgiveness.

l. 16. **importunitatis,** 'insolence.'

l. 21. **sociis . . veluti hostibus.** Yet the popular leaders did little to protect the provincials, who were plundered alike by both parties at Rome.

l. 25. **ereptae pecuniae.** Offences of this kind committed by officials fell under the 'crimen repetundarum,' and were provided for by the Sempronian and Acilian laws, though justice was not always to be had in the jury courts.

l. 32. **malitis . . perperam quam recte fecisse.** Memmius warns them against supposing that he is so glad of the chance of vengeance as to rejoice at the guilt of his enemies.

P. 115, l. 5. **c. 32. in . . dicendo.** Jordan proposes to fill up the gap with 'contione.' The best MSS. have 'indicendo,' which cannot be right.

l. 6. **L. Cassius** Longinus was consul with Marius in 107 B.C., and was defeated and slain in the country of the Allobroges by the allies of the Cimbric invaders.

l. 7. **interposita.** Cf. Caesar, Bell. Gall. 5. 6, 6, 'fidem reliquis interponere, iusiurandum poscere.'

fide publica. Cf. Cat. 47. 1.

l. 9. **pecuniae captae.** Cf. Tac. Ann. 3. 67, 2, 'captarum pecuniarum teneri reum.' The construction of verbs like 'damnare,' 'arguere,' 'insimulare,' 'arcessere,' may be explained by the ellipse of 'crimine,' or as a causal genitive.

delicta patefierent. That a sovereign prince should be invited to Rome to give evidence against those whom he had bribed is absurdly improbable. As Ihne suggests, he probably came to negotiate for the sanction of the government to the terms agreed upon by Bestia.

l. 12. **flagitiosissuma facinora fecere.** For the alliteration, cf. note on Cat. 7. 6.

l. 15. **perlata rogatione.** Cf. 40. 1. It was carried through the comitia without the sanction of the senate, as by the Gracchi.

l. 18. **se . . dedisset,** 'surrendered,' though by a hollow compact.

l. 24. c. 33. **confirmatus ab omnibus.** His accomplices were naturally afraid that he might be induced to disclose their names, great as was his resolution ('magna vis animi').

l. 27. **iniurias.** A strong term for the occasion, due to the contrast of 'ius.'

l. 29. **aperiret.** Frequently used by Sallust, though less properly with 'socios' than with 'consilium,' as Cat. 22. 2.

l. 30. **more maiorum.** Cf. note on Cat. 52. 36.

l. 33. **producto.** The technical term in the case of any one brought by a magistrate 'in prospectum populi Romani' (cf. Cic. in Verr. 1. 47, 122), or called upon to speak in public ('in contionem').

P. 116, l. 1. **Numidiae.** In the same construction as 'Romae' by a sort of attraction, like that of 'Siciliam' in 28. 6.

l. 6. **conrupturum.** Used by zeugma both of 'spes' and 'se,' though inappropriate of the latter.

l. 9. c. 34. **regem tacere iubet.** The coercive power of the tribunes was more commonly directed against officials, whom they could prevent from addressing the people, as in the case of Cicero when he was resigning his consulship (cf. Ad Fam. 5. 2, 7). It was a natural extension of the power to silence private persons; cf. Plin. Ep. 1. 23, 'tribunum qui iubere posset tacere quemcunque.'

l. 12. **quae ira fieri amat.** Possibly this passage was in Quintilian's mind, though vaguely, when he wrote (9. 3, 17) 'Graeca vero translata vel Sallustii plurima, quale est vulgus amat fieri.' Earlier editors went so far as to explain that 'quae' was a plural nom. with 'amat' in the sing. after a Greek idiom. In any case 'amat' is used like φιλεῖ.

vicit . . inpudentia. We should expect to read that Baebius was prosecuted for this conduct after he ceased to be tribune if his corruption was so notorious. There were many ready to impeach him, and officials were often thus called to account.

l. 22. c. 35. **invidia cum metu urgeat,** 'dislike and dread alike prejudiced the cause of Jugurtha.' The sing. 'urgeat' is an exception to the common usage of Sallust in like cases; cf. note on Cat. 43. 1.

l. 24. **movere quam senescere omnia.** In this awkward passage there is not only a change from an active to a neuter verb, but 'omnia' has to do double service as an object to 'movere' and a subject to 'senescere.' The passage in 14. 16 ('quae aut amisi aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt') presents the nearest parallel. The 'moveri' of some MSS. and editors is evidently an attempt to make the words easier.

P. 117, l. 2. **ex eo . . qui . . erant.** 'Qui' is in the plural, as 'ex eo numero' stands for 'ex eorum numero,' cf. 38. 6.

l. 5. **indicium profitetur.** Like our 'turns king's evidence,' so used

by later writers; cf. Tac. Ann. 6. 3, 5, 'summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret.'

l. 5. **fit reus.** The actual murderer was probably dealt with summarily by the magistrate. Bomilcar, as in the train of a foreign prince, was not strictly amenable to the Roman courts.

l. 7. **manufestus . . sceleris.** Cf. Cat. 52. 36.

l. 10. **in priore actione,** 'the first stage of the trial,' when the accused was admitted to bail, between the 'nominis delatio' and the 'interrogatio.'

l. 12. **metus . . parendi.** A very unusual construction, which is found, however, in Livy, 21. 35, 3, 'insuetis adeundi propius metus erat.'

l. 19. **c. 36. maturat . . portare.** Cf. Cat. 36. 3.

l. 20. **ante comitia,** 'before the elections.' Though the comitia met for other business, the frequently recurring elections furnished the commonest associations of the word.

l. 27. **properantia.** A very rare word, used once by Tacitus, Ann. 12. 20, 2.

l. 30. **pro praetore,** i. e. as 'legatus pro praetore,' but not in the technical sense which the phrase commonly has.

l. 33. **c. 37. continuare magistratum.** It was a common practice in early times for the tribunes to hold office in successive years, the whole board being sometimes re-elected when a popular measure was to be carried. It ceases, however, after the Licinian bills of 367 B.C., when it may have been prohibited by law, and it was certainly regarded as unconstitutional in the case of Tib. Gracchus. Attempts to repeal or to evade the restriction were made by Carbo and C. Gracchus, but not with permanent success. The agitation referred to in the text was either to change the law or to ignore it; cf. Mommsen, Staatsrecht 1. 427.

P. 118, l. 1. **comitia impediebat.** Probably the ambitious tribunes whose re-election was resisted revenged themselves by checking by their own veto the course of public business and the consular elections. It was in this way that the authors of the Licinian bills of 367 B.C. had compelled attention to their demands.

l. 4. **mense Ianuario,** of 109 B.C., which opened without any elected consuls.

l. 6. **Suthul.** This place cannot be certainly identified. The description does not suit the site of Guelma, the Calama of Orosius (cf. note on 38. 2), but has been thought to correspond with that of a village at an hour's distance.

l. 8. **in . . montis extremo.** Cf. Cat. 52. 11; Jug. 48. 3; 90. 1.

l. 13. **c. 38. vanitate.** Cf. note on Cat. 23. 1.

l. 14. **missitare.** A very unusual frequent., found also in Livy, 9. 45, 3.

l. 17. **relicto Suthule.** Sallust gives no further indication of the scene of the disgraceful surrender of the Romans. Orosius (5. 15) makes it Calama, about fifty miles east of Cirta, in a district where many Roman inscriptions have been found.

l. 18. **occultiora fuere.** To raise the siege without apparent reason —like that of the pursuit of the enemy—would have seemed suspicious. Some MSS. have 'fore,' as if the thoughts of Aulus were described. Dietsch and others regard the passage as a gloss, and the MS. readings are certainly suspicious.

ll. 28–30. **cohors una . . cum . . transiere.** For the plural constr. cf. note on Cat. 43. 1.

l. 29. **Ligurum.** Cf. note on 93. 2.

turmis. Cf. note on 49. 2.

l. 30. **centurio primi pili,** i.e. the first centurion of the 'triarii,' who though now armed with the 'hasta,' not the 'pilum,' are still named from it and called 'pilani,' and each of their ten maniples is a 'pilus.' It seems probable that the centurion of the first company was called at first 'centurio primum pilanum' (old gen. plur.), and that 'pilum' was in time substituted, as we may speak of 'the Rifles' for 'Riflemen.' As the archaic gen. plur. dropped out of use, 'primi pili' might be used in a collective sense. It would be a further step to use 'pilus' for 'manipulus,' and 'primos pilos ducere' for 'centurio primi ordinis;' cf. Corssen, 1. 530.

tertiae legionis. The legions were numbered only to distinguish them in the campaign in which they served and after which they were disbanded. In the time of Caesar all the forces of the state were regularly numbered. Under the Empire each legion bore for ages a distinctive name derived either from a country, or a race, or special services, or other causes.

l. 31. **locum . . introeundi dedit.** This treachery seems improbable on the part of a Roman soldier, and was perhaps invented to explain the disgraceful rout.

P. 119, l. 3. **tametsi . . tamen.** It is remarkable that these words occur in this connexion frequently in the Catiline, and up to this point, but not afterwards, in this treatise, nor at all in the histories. Wölfflin thinks them one of the common idioms which Sallust afterwards avoided.

l. 6. **sub iugum missurum.** The familiar symbol of surrender in old Roman warfare. Cf. Livy, 3. 28, 11, 'tribus hastis iugum fit, humi fixis duabus superque eas transversa una deligata. Sub hoc iugo dictator Aequos misit.' The most celebrated example is the Roman

disgrace at the Caudine Forks, but the surrender of Mancinus at Numantia was then fresh in Roman memory. That precedent should have shown Jugurtha that the government would certainly disown the terms of any compact made in like case by its general.

l. 8. **mutabantur**, 'were exchanged for,' 'accepted in lieu of.' This gives a possible sense, though the language seems harsh. There is uncertainty among the readings of the MSS., which have 'mutabant' and 'minitabantur;' Jordan proposes 'nutabant,' after Tac. Hist. 2. 76, 1, 'his pavoribus nutantem . . . firmabant;' and this correction had already appeared in the Elzevir of 1634. Two critics independently suggest 'metiebantur,' as Cat. 31. 2, 'suo quisque metu pericula metiri.' Dietsch prefers 'mortis metum intuebantur,' but this is improbable. Wirz, 'mortis metu aestumabantur.'

l. 17. c. 39. **supplementum scribere.** It is understood, as a matter of course, that this was done with the sanction of the senate, which decided each year what new legions should be raised, or old ones recruited. Cf. Livy, 42. 10, 12, 'postulantibus (consulibus) ut novos exercitus scribere aut supplementum veteribus liceret, utrumque negatum est.'

nomine Latino. The Latin towns were the earliest allies of Rome, and the league had lasted on for centuries. The status of the inhabitants had therefore been the nearest to that of Roman citizens. Most of them indeed had gradually received the Roman franchise, but their place was taken by the colonists of the so-called Latin colonies. Cf. note on 84. 2.

l. 19. **par fuerat**, i. e. it had seemed right and fair from the first.

nullum . . foedus fieri, 'no contract could be binding.' In the like cases of Sp. Postumius at the Caudine Forks in the Second Samnite War, and of Mancinus at Numantia, the generals were handed over to the enemy when the treaties were disowned by the state. We are not told why A. Albinus was not surrendered to Jugurtha.

l. 20. **consul.** Albinus had ceased to be consul at the beginning of 109, but as no one had been elected in his place he may have hoped to retain command in Numidia, and this he did till the summer.

inpeditus a tribunis. Why, we are not told. They may have mistrusted his honesty or skill, or merely carried out their policy of blocking all public business.

l. 23. **Numidia deductus.** The abl. without a prep. is rare in this constr.

l. 26. **ex copia rerum**, 'from the means at his disposal.' Cf. 98. 3.

l. 28. c. 40. **promulgat** for 'promulcat,' like 'remulcat,' and formed from a verb 'mellere' = μολεῖν, which has left traces in the obsolete words 'remeligo,' 'remelix,' mentioned by grammarians (Corssen, 2. 152).

l. 29. **uti quaereretur.** The existing laws already provided for prosecution in such cases of official guilt, but the penalties were too mild to satisfy the popular leaders, who regarded the crimes as treasonous, to be dealt with as a capital offence. Also the evidence procurable was probably not enough for an ordinary court, and the delays caused by its formalities too great.

l. 30. **neglegisset.** Cf. note on Cat. 51. 24.

P. 120, l. 3. **socios Italicos.** Probably appeal was made to the interests of capitalists and traders in the Italian towns, who were likely to suffer from war in Numidia, where they were spreading their business relations.

inpedimenta. They had no direct power over the votes of the comitia, but the wealthy could use their wealth and influence, and others could block the access of the voters and disturb the assembly by street riots.

l. 5. **magis odio nobilitatis.** There is reason to believe that advantage was taken of the blunders of the oligarchy to push matters to extremes, and that Jugurtha was a victim to the strength of party passion.

l. 10. **tres quaesitores.** This probably means that three courts were to sit, each with its president thus provided, to deal more expeditiously with the accused. The jury—called by Cicero in this case 'Gracchani iudices'—was drawn by the forms of the Acilian law. Cf. Zumpt, Criminalrecht 2. 1, 225.

l. 11. **aspere violenterque.** Cf. Cic. Brut. 34. 128, 'invidiosa lege Mamilia quaestione C. Galbam sacerdotem et quattuor consulares, L. Bestiam, C. Catonem, Sp. Albinum civemque praestantissimum L. Opimium, Gracchi interfectorem—Gracchani iudices sustulerunt.' Part of the speech which Galba made in his defence was in the time of Cicero one of the 'elegant extracts' which schoolboys learned by heart.

l. 12. **ex rumore,** i.e. on suspicion or hearsay evidence.

l. 14. **c. 41. mos partium popularium et factionum,** 'the system of democratic and oligarchic factions.' Dietsch would omit 'popularium' as well as the 'senati' of some MSS. as a needless gloss, but the passage would be abrupt without it.

l. 16. **quae prima.** The construction here is not the same as in Cat. 36. 4, 'otium atque divitiae quae prima mortales putant,' where the general rule applies that a relative which refers to two substantives of different gender is put in the neut. plural. But in the text 'quae prima' refers to the sense, though not to the actual gender of 'earum rerum' by *constructio ad sensum.*

l. 17. **ante Carthaginem deletam.** Sallust says elsewhere that the period between the two Punic Wars was that of the greatest harmony

('maxuma concordia'). There was hardly any popular party, and no distinct principles at issue. Such quarrels as we hear of were personal rather than party questions. As to the decline afterwards, cf. Vell. Paterc. 2. 1, 1, 'potentiae Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriae posterior aperuit; quippe remoto Carthaginis metu sublataque imperi aemula non gradu sed praecipiti cursu a virtute descitum.'

l. 17. **populus et senatus Romanus.** This inversion of the usual order of the formula is found several times in Livy as well as in the Monumentum Ancyranum, but with this difference, that here the words are used disjunctively, and not as a compendious phrase for the ruling powers. Cf. note on 9. 2.

l. 20. **metus hostilis.** Used as here for 'the fear of the enemies' 105. 5, and Tac. Ann. 12. 51, 2.

l. 24. **coepere,** i.e. both 'nobilitas' and 'populus.'

l. 26. **abstracta.** We might rather expect 'distracta,' as Livy, 2. 57, 3, 'distractam laceratamque rempublicam.'

l. 27. **quae media fuerat, dilacerata.** Imitated from Thuc. 3. 82, 19, *τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων . . . διεφθείροντο.*

l. 28. **nobilitas factione magis pollebat,** i.e. the oligarchy was more strongly organized.

l. 31. **gloriae.** Attracted to the plural by the words of the context; it occurs also Tac. Ann. 3. 45, 4. Bernays suggests 'laureae' (or 'loreae') as preferable, being a concrete term like the others. Bergk proposes 'adoriae,' as Festus says 'adoriam laudem sive gloriam dicebant.'

populus militia atque inopia. The Italian population never recovered from the ceaseless drain of the long wars and the distant campaigns while the conquest of the world was going forward. The loss of productive industry meantime was also enormous. Compare the effect on France of the Napoleonic wars.

P. 121, l. 1. **sedibus pellebantur.** Cf. Hor. Carm. 2. 18, 23, 'Quid quod usque proximos | revellis agri terminos et ultra | limites clientium | salis avarus? pellitur paternos | in sinu ferens deos | et uxor et vir sordidosque natos.' Like complaints are made early in Roman story of the greedy violence of the rich, who grasped by force or by chicanery at the lands of their poorer neighbours, and ejected the yeomen to make room for their 'latifundia.' Far more were gradually bought out by the slow action of mortgages and economic causes.

l. 3. **nihil pensi.** Cf. note on Cat. 5. 6.

l. 4. **ex nobilitate.** The champions of the commons came from the ranks of the nobility. No 'new man' ever came forward with a serviceable programme of reform.

l. 7. **c. 42. Tiberius et C. Gracchus.** An exception to the general

rule, which would require 'Gracchi,' as Cat. 17. 3, 'Publius et Servius Sullae.'

quorum maiores. Their grandfather was the P. Scipio Africanus of the Punic War; their father Tib. Sempronius Gracchus had served with distinction in Spain and Sardinia, as other members of the family had done in the Second Punic War.

l. 9. **paucorum scelera.** Tib. Gracchus had exposed the selfish greed of the ruling class, which had ignored the limitations of the Licinian laws, and monopolized in their vast estates the state domains. Caius denounced the miscarriages of justice in the corrupt senatorian courts, before which titled offenders were brought in vain for trial. He brought forward startling examples of the abuses of official power in Italian towns, where Roman magistrates set at nought the rights of the allies, for whose admission to the franchise he was pleading (A. Gell. 10. 3, 2). And to avenge the murder of his brother he re-enacted the old principle of civic liberty, by which an official might be brought to justice who had inflicted capital punishment upon a Roman citizen without the sanction of the commons.

l. 10. **modo . . interdum.** This sequence, which occurs also 55. 8; 62. 9; 74. 1, is rarely found elsewhere, though in Horace, Sat. 1. 9, 9, 'ire modo ocius, interdum consistere.'

l. 11. **per socios.** The ruling classes in the allied communities of Italy had appropriated the domain-lands, like the Roman nobles, and they too protested against the disturbance of their title and the hardship of enforcing obsolete restrictions.

l. 12. **spes societatis.** The hope of sharing the material advantages of government in the provinces as well as opportunities of speculation. It is not clear, however, to what special motives Sallust is referring. The 'equites' had been so much strengthened as a moneyed aristocracy by the measures of C. Gracchus, who secured them the exclusive influence in the jury court and in the management of the revenues of Asia, that the senatorian rulers had little in comparison to offer. They really weakened chiefly his popularity by outdoing his colonial proposals, and working on Roman jealousy against the Italians, for whom equality was claimed.

l. 14. **triumvirum coloniis deducundis.** When a bill had passed the commons for the founding of a colony commissioners were chosen, generally three, though sometimes more in number, and invested with 'imperium' to divide the prescribed amount of 'ager publicus' among the settlers. They led them to the spot in military order, and marked the lines of the future walls, while the surveyors ('agrimensores') defined the limits of the several holdings. The commissioners were commonly of high rank, and were the patrons of the colony in question.

l. 16. **haud satis moderatus.** It was harsh and impolitic to enforce, under totally different conditions, the limitations of landed tenure which had been obsolete for 200 years. It was almost a revolution to displace the senate as the directing power in the state, and to appeal only to an inorganic mob of voters in the comitia. But it was violently unconstitutional to depose a tribune from his office, and to insist, as both brothers did, on their re-election.

l. 17. **bono,** dat., 'a good man,' not to be taken with 'more;' supply before it, 'the excesses of the Gracchi do not justify the conduct of the nobles, for,' etc.

l. 20. **timoris,** i. e. the fear of vengeance.

quae res plerumque. Sallust may possibly be thinking here, as has been suggested, of Thuc. 3. 82, 17, though the general thought only agrees.

l. 21. **alteri alteros . . . volunt.** Suggested probably by Thuc. 3. 82, 17, *παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι . . . τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους . . . προτιθέντες.*

l. 23. **omnis,** 'in general.'

l. 26. **c. 43. foedus . . . foedam fugam.** The play upon the words is here intended to emphasize the disgrace of the terms of surrender.

l. 27. **Q. Metellus,** though elected at a time of reaction, was a resolute aristocrat, who braved the vengeance of the popular party and the exile threatened in the law of Saturninus. The family was one of the most distinguished of the plebeian nobility; cf. Vell. Paterc. 2. 12, 1.

designati. Mommsen observes that this must be an oversight of the writer, or a corrupt reading for 'de senatus sententia,' as it appears from 37. 2 that the consuls were not elected till after the beginning of their year (Staatsrecht 1. 487, note 2). Metellus did not arrive in Numidia till the summer of 109; cf. 44. 3.

l. 28. **partiverant.** This active form is found in older writers and in Tac. Ann. 12. 30, 4.

quamquam. This use of 'quamquam' without a verb belongs rather to writers of the silver age, as Juvenal 4. 79; Pliny, Ep. 1. 12, 3. Cf. Madvig on Cic. Fin. 5. 23, 68.

l. 29. **advorso.** Used like a substantive with a gen. after the analogy of 'contrarius,' 'inimicus,' 'advorsarius.'

fama . . . inviolata. His stainless character is illustrated by the story reported by Cicero (ad Att. 1. 16, 11), that when he was prosecuted on a charge of peculation the jury declined to look at his accounts which were produced in court.

l. 30. **alia omnia sibi cum conlega,** 'that he shared with his colleague all the other business,' i. e. that he had only a divided responsibility in the rest, but could devote himself wholly to the war.

P. 122, l. 1. affatim. Simply annexed to 'conmeatum,' like 'mala abunde,' Cat. 21. 1, and Jug. 102. 7.

l. 4. **reges.** There were many princes left by Rome in nominal independence on her frontiers, and they were used to extend her influence without the use of arms. They were convenient allies, flattered and coerced by turns, and gradually stripped of all real power before the time for annexation came.

l. 8. **advorsum divitias.** Cf. Thuc. 2. 60, 5, *φιλόπολίς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων.*

invictum. Used in the sense of a verbal adj., like 'infectum,' 76. 1; 'incorruptus,' 2. 3; 'coercitum,' 91. 7.

l. 12. **c. 44. iners inbellis.** We hear a like story of the licence and disorder in the Roman legions in Macedonia, and before the walls of Carthage and Numantia, where Paulus Aemilius and Scipio had to take like measures to purge the camp and tighten the bonds of discipline. It should be borne in mind that there was as yet no standing army, but that the legions were enrolled for special service, that officers and men had before the actual campaign no personal knowledge of each other, and the legions no distinct traditions and no *esprit de corps,* while volunteers were often attracted to the wars by the hope of plunder, or had wearied of the monotony of country life, and needed a firm hand to rule them. The generals were often quite incompetent, recalled before they learned their work, hampered by political connexions, relaxing the rules of discipline to discredit a successor, or to serve some personal or party object.

l. 13. **praedator ex sociis.** Equivalent to 'praedam ex sociis agens.' For the adjectival use of 'praedator,' cf. that of 'cultor,' 54. 3; 'contemptor,' 64. 1. The phrase itself is introduced rather for the sake of the rhetorical point in the contrast, than out of any pity for the suffering provincials.

l. 17. **aestivorum tempus.** The time for the campaign when the army took the field. Cf. Caesar, B. G. 8. 46, 1, 'superioribus aestivis Galliam devictam.'

l. 18. **expectatione . . . intentos.** For the constr. cf. Cat. 2. 9.

l. 19. **maiorum disciplina.** The old traditions of Roman discipline implied an unremitting drill, forced marches, and much spade labour in the trenches, and engineering on the roads and bridges which it was the work of the armies to construct.

l. 23. **stativis.** Not used without 'castris' by Sallust, like 'aestiva' and 'hiberna,' but by Livy and Tacitus.

odos. For termination, cf. 'colos,' Cat. 15. 5.

l. 25. **deducebantur,** 'sent to their posts.' Cf. Cat. 55. 2, and the phrase 'coloniam deducere.'

l. 26. **lixae.** The reputation of this class is illustrated by Tacitus, Hist. 2. 87, 2, 'calonum numerus amplior, procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis,' and by the derivations suggested by Festus, 'dicti quod extra ordinem sint militiae, eisque liceat quod libuerit,' and 'quidam a liguriendo quaestum,' which are equally improbable.

l. 30. **frumentum publice datum.** In earlier days a fixed quantity of corn was served out to the soldiers monthly, but the state deducted the value of the rations, as of clothes and arms, from the pay of the legionaries, while supplying them freely to the 'socii' (Polyb. 6. 39, 12). In the provinces the necessary supplies were called in by the state, but paid for at a fair rate if the governor was scrupulous and his agents honest. J. Caesar appears to have given the rations without stint (Sueton. 26), and their value was no longer deducted from the pay.

l. 33. **c. 45. in ea difficultate.** It was one likely to recur in the Roman system of frequently changing generals, chosen with little reference to their experience or skill. The disorder in the besieging army at Numantia is a notorious example, and the policy of Scipio may have suggested some of the rules made by Metellus. Cf. Appian, Iber. 21.

P. 123, l. 2. **comperior.** Here and in 108. 3, Sallust has the old deponent form of this word, which is dropped by the best authors, though Tacitus has it in a passage imitated from this (Ann. 4. 20, 4, 'Hunc ego Lepidum gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperior').

ambitionem, i.e. the indulgence or relaxation of discipline often resorted to to curry favour with the citizen-soldiers.

l. 7. **ceteris arte.** 'Ceteris' is best understood of 'adiumenta' and 'arte' as an adverb, as in 85. 34. If 'ceteris' be taken as masc. gend. and opposed to 'miles gregarius,' it will be best to take 'arte' as an abl.

l. 16. **c. 46. innocentia.** For the specific meaning of incorruptible honesty, cf. Cat. 12. 1; 54. 5.

l. 18. **suppliciis.** For explanation of the word, cf. note on Cat. 9. 2, where it refers to prayers to the gods. Here, as in 66. 2, it is used of entreaties to men or the symbols of them. Cf. Festus, 'supplicia sunt, quae caduceatores portant, ea sumebantur ex verbena felicis arboris nec enim ex alio supplicia fas erat, quam ex verbenis sumi.' They were the *ἱκετήριοι κλάδοι* of the Greeks.

l. 21. **infidum.** The dealings of Metellus himself with the envoys is the best comment on the value of this statement. Sallust has no word of blame for the unscrupulous meanness of the Romans.

l. 25. **procedat . . . traderent.** This sequence of tenses is the inversion of the order more usually observed.

l. 30. **mapalibus.** Cf. note on 18. 8.

l. 33. **munito agmine.** Sallust here gives a clear account of the

advance in a hollow square ('agmine quadrato,' 100. 1), where the army might be attacked on any side, and there might be no time for change of front, or deploying into line. It is first mentioned in the Spanish war in 151 B.C. Cf. *τετράγωνον ἐν πλινθίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἄγων* (Appian, Hisp. 55).

P. 124, l. 2. **expeditis**, i.e. without 'impedimenta.'

l. 3. **funditorum et sagittariorum.** These were not included in the legion nor commonly of Roman origin, though in old days the fourth class of the Servian system was armed with slings ('fundas lapidesque missiles,' Livy, 1. 43, 6). An auxiliary corps was formed of Balearic slingers and of Cretan or Achaean archers, or of natives of Syria and Pontus.

l. 4. **C. Marius** had served with Jugurtha under Scipio at Numantia (Vell. Paterc. 2. 9, 3). As tribune in 119 B.C. he passed a bill to prevent intimidation at the elections, and threatened L. Metellus the consul with imprisonment if he opposed it, though he owed the tribunate to the support of the Metelli. He gained the praetorship in 115, and seems now to have been nominated legatus by Q. Metellus, whom he accompanied to Africa. He probably had not yet become estranged from the family of his patrons, nor identified himself with the popular party.

cum equitibus. These are distinguished from the 'auxiliarii equites' on the flanks. Yet we do not hear after this date of any Roman cavalry attached to the legions, except a few picked horsemen in the 'cohors praetoria,' or the orderlies and aides-de-camp of the general. The allies furnished all the regular cavalry henceforth.

curabat, 'was in charge.' Cf. Cat. 59. 3.

l. 5. **prefectis cohortium.** Cf. note on Cat. 59. 6.

l. 6. **velites.** These were light-armed infantry specially organized in 211 B.C. to skirmish between the squadrons of cavalry, which were found inferior to the Campanian horse. They were then permanently attached to the legions (cf. Livy, 26. 4, 5), but they appear for the last time in this war, as Marius soon after changed the old system completely, and gave a uniform character to all the soldiers of the legion.

l. 9. **gerens.** Used by zeugma with 'pacem' (instead of 'agens'), as well as 'bellum,' with which it is commonly connected.

l. 12. c. 47. **Vaga, forum rerum venalium.** Vaga is mentioned among the towns that sent help to Hannibal in the crisis of the Second Punic War (Silius, It. 2. 259). It must have been assigned to Masinissa as it is here called 'oppidum Numidarum.' It was lying waste in the time of Strabo, but under Severus was restored as 'colonia Septimia Vaga,' now Bedja (Corp. Inscr. Lat. 8, p. 154). El-Bekri calls it the granary of Ifrikia (Africa), 'Every day 1000 camels and other beasts of burden carry away corn, but that has no influence on the price of corn,

so abundant is it.' A recent traveller says, 'It is impossible to imagine a city more filthy; the fable of king Augeas with his stable of 3000 oxen, uncleaned during thirty years, is actually realized. The inhabitants have large flocks and herds, which they drive into the town every evening, and from its streets and houses nothing is ever removed. The old Roman drains are choked up, so that the rain instead of washing down the streets, only dissolves the black abomination with which they are filled, and makes walking about an impossibility to one who is not hardened to it' (Playfair, Travels in the footsteps of Bruce, 234). The town is on a stream of the same name which flows into the rich valley of the Medjerda (Bagradas).

ll. 14, 15. **huc . . . inposuit.** For this combination of an adverb of place with 'inposuit,' cf. 66. 2; 75. 4.

l. 14. **temptandi**, i.e. winning over the inhabitants.

l. 15. **si**, 'to see if,' as Tac. Ann. 4. 49, 1, 'exercitum ostendit, si barbari proelium auderent.'

paterentur opportunitates loci, 'the local conditions would be favourable.' There is here variation in the MSS., and some editors prefer to take 'paterentur' of the inhabitants, i.e. 'accept his overtures,' and to read 'opportunitatis' as governed by 'gratia.'

l. 18. **conmeatu iuvaturam.** The correction of Madvig and others for the meaningless 'conmeatum iuvaturum' of the best MSS.

iam paratis rebus, i.e. for revolt from Jugurtha.

l. 19. **inpensius modo.** An unusual phrase found only besides in 75. 1, and Cic. ad Fam. 64. 5. It seems easiest to explain 'modo' in the sense of 'above measure,' as there is little to be said for the *temporal* meaning 'now' ascribed to it by some, nor any evidence in favour of its being used as an expletive like 'numero' in 'saepe numero.'

l. 25. c. 48. **se suis artibus temptari.** Cf. the like phrase in Livy, 22. 16, 5, 'nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti.'

P. 125, l. 1. **Muthul**, 'Baal's water.' Cf. Schröder, Ph. Spr. 95. The description of the locality is here as vague as possible, and we cannot certainly identify the river. It has been supposed with some reason to be Mossul, a stream which flows from the south northwards into the Sylyana, a tributary of the Bagradas (Medjerda). Its basin is bounded by a chain of hills at about the distance described by Sallust (cf. Maltzan, Reise 2. 262).

l. 2. **ferme**, said by Varro to be older than 'fere' (L. L. 7. 5). It occurs also in 74. 3, and often in Livy and Tacitus.

tractu pari, 'in a direction parallel to the river.'

l. 3. **vastus ab natura.** For this use of 'ab' with an adj., cf. 92. 5, 'a natura praeceps;' Sall. Hist. 1. 9, 'a paludibus invia.'

l. 5. **humi arido.** 'Humi' is not to be taken as a locative, but as a

partitive gen. following 'arido,' which is boldly used in a substantival sense, as Tacitus has 'lubrico paludum' (Ann. 1. 65, 6), and 'asperrimo hiemis' (3. 5, 2).

l. 8. **cultoribus.** The prep. is omitted to agree with the constr. of 'pecore,' but it is also dispensed with in 27. 2.

l. 9. c. 49. **transvorso itinere porrectum,** 'stretching right across the line of march.' It seems to have been a lower range of hills, branching from the high table-land, which bounded one side of the river-basin.

l. 10. **extenuata,** 'widely extended.'

elephantis. The Romans are said to have been startled in their war with Pyrrhus by his use of elephants against them, and to have themselves first employed against Philip some that had been taken from Carthage.

l. 13. **turmas.** The companies of the cavalry, as 'manipuli' were of the infantry. Cf. Varro (L. L. 5. 91), 'turma terima (E. in U. abiit) quod ter deni equites ex tribus tribubus . . . fiebant.'

manipulos. This system of arrangement by maniples, which was supposed to date from the time of Camillus, disappears after this war in the sweeping changes of Marius, who substituted for it a uniform system of cohorts. Cf. note on 46. 7.

l. 14. **monet atque obtestatur.** We may see perhaps in the topics a reminiscence of the speech of Phormio, Thuc. 2. 89.

l. 17. **quae . . . decuerint.** Strictly we should expect 'quae ab imperatore (provideri) decuerit,' but the impers. verb is put in the plural, by a sort of attraction of 'provisa.'

l. 21. **illum diem.** Cf. Thuc. 2. 12, 4, *ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει.*

l. 28. **conspicatur.** So written on the authority of the grammarians Donatus and Priscian, though the best MSS. have 'conspicitur.' It must be taken in a passive sense, though usually deponent.

l. 31. **incerti,** in a passive sense, like 'ignara' (18. 6), and 'innoxii' (Cat. 39. 2).

l. 33. **conmutatis ordinibus,** i.e. he made the front ranks wheel to the right ('transvorsis principiis') and strengthened them with three lines of reserves, throwing out the cavalry on what would be the wings if they faced to meet the enemy, and then continuing his march to the low ground in the direction of the river ('in planum deducit').

P. 126, l. 8. c. 50. Rutilium. Probably the P. Rutilius Rufus, consul in 105 B.C., whom Velleius Paterculus calls 'virum non seculi sui sed omnis aevi optimum' (2. 13, 2), who was found guilty of extortion in the jury-courts of the equites, though notoriously innocent, and retired with proud contempt to spend his last years at Smyrna. He

wrote memoirs in Greek, from which Sallust may have taken some of his descriptions of the campaign.

l. 11. **lassitudinem . . . temptaturos**, 'try the effect of fatigue and thirst upon the soldiers.'

l. 14. **qui in agmine**, i.e. the cavalry of the left wing, when the army fronted towards the enemy on their right, would be leading the van in the line of march to the river.

l. 17. **duum.** Here, as in 91. 3; 106. 5, 'duum milium,' but 79. 1, 'duorum Carthaginiensium.' The coins which exhibit Latin orthography in its earliest stage known to us, show the ending of the gen. plur. of *o* stems as *-om*. But 'olorum' ('illorum') appears in the Columna Rostrata, and the fuller form gains ground after the Punic Wars. In the age of Cicero the form in *-um* is only kept in a few words which occur for the most part in ancient or familiar phrases, as 'deum,' 'duumvir,' 'fabrum,' 'socium,' 'modium,' 'talentum,' though the poets retain it as a convenient resource for their metre. Cf. Corssen, 1. 587.

l. 28. **numero priores**, i.e. Jugurtha's cavalry being superior in numbers.'

l. 29. **disiectos . . . circumveniebant**, 'cut off the stragglers.'

l. 30. **quam campi fuerat.** Contrast the constr. of the verb in Cat. 25. 3.

l. 31. **ea vero.** So Cat. 37. 4.

P. 127, l. 4. **c. 51. fors omnia regere.** Cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 49, 2, 'cetera fors regit.'

l. 8. **cohortis legionarias**, as distinct from the contingents of the allies. Cf. note on Cat. 59. 2.

l. 22. **c. 52. die vesper**, but 'diei vesper' in 106. 2.

l. 23. **praeceptum fuerat.** So 109. 3. The pluperf. of subst. verb with past part. is very rare in Cicero and Caesar.

l. 25. **ignara.** For passive sense, cf. 18. 6.

l. 32. **animo vacuom**, i.e. 'unaware of the danger.' Cf. Tac. Ann. 2. 46, 1, 'tres vacuas legiones et ducem fraudis ignarum.'

P. 128, l. 2. **arte statuerat**, 'drawn up in close order.' Cf. Cat. 59. 2, 'reliquarum signa in subsidio artius collocat.'

l. 9. **c. 53. pro castris.** 'Pro' in a local sense is used in technical expressions or military language; thus 'pro opere,' 92. 9; 'pro muro,' 94. 4; 'pro consilio,' 29. 6; 'pro contione,' 8. 2; 'pro curia,' Cat. 18. 8.

l. 12. **inpeditos ramis arborum.** The elephants would soon have crushed down the brushwood which would be growing on an arid soil such as that described by Sallust. But the battle scenes are commonly somewhat fanciful descriptions of Roman writers.

l. 17. **fessi.** The best MSS. have 'fessi laetique erant,' but 'fessi lassique' is also found. Dietsch believes that it ran originally 'fessi laetique victoria,' and that when the last word slipped out of the text, the seemingly meaningless 'laeti' was altered into 'lassi.' It is probable, however, that some word was slipped in to correspond to the balance of 'instructi intentique' of the next line. Mr. Postgate suggests 'laeti quierant' (Mnemosyne, 1883).

l. 18. **amplius opinione.** Cf. 75. 8, 'spe amplior,' and 'serius spe,' 'celerius spe.'

l. 21. **strepitu velut hostes adventare.** The infin. seems hard to explain. Madvig and others have proposed to strike out 'adventare' as a marginal note on 'hostes.' The construction will be regular if we take it as an historic infin. like 'facere,' and regard 'velut hostes' as only qualifying the modal abl. 'strepitu,' 'with a loud din as if they were the enemy,' but a night attack would be more naturally conducted in silence. It is proposed to take 'velut' with 'adventare,' though the usual constr. would be 'adventarent,' and 'sicut' would better suit the style of Sallust. In that case 'strepitu' would be best taken as qualifying 'formidinem facere,' and 'velut adventare' might be attracted to the infin. irregularly by the historic infin. which follows; but this explanation is improbable.

l. 25. **mutatur.** Received on the authority of the grammarian Priscian; the best MSS. have 'exortum.'

l. 28. **detrectant** in an unusual sense, 'spoil' or 'mar' instead of 'disparage.'

l. 29. **c. 54. quatriduo.** The abl. form as 94. 3, 'toto die Numidas habuerat;' but the more usual acc. of duration 'biduom' in 69. 3 and 91. 3, etc.

l. 32. **quae levia sunt.** The use of the indic. here in a speech to convey a belief of the speaker is a strong example of Sallust's preference for that mood.

animum gerant. After the analogy of the idiom 'morem gerere.'

pro victoria satis. There seems to have been little real success to boast of, and the losses were probably severe.

P. 129, l. 5. **hebetem infirmumque.** This seems improbable, and the Romans are not likely to have known much of Jugurtha's recruiting grounds. His army, though dispersed for a while, probably reassembled; his losses had been slight, and there was plenty of fighting stuff in the populations of Numidia.

l. 6. **ea gratia,** as in 'ea formidine' below the 'ea' is attracted to the case of the noun, and stands for 'eius rei;' so 'eo dolore,' 83. 1.

l. 9. **eo discedunt.** A common characteristic of tribal warfare. Tacitus says the same of the Germans (Ann. 2. 14, 5).

l. 15. **multa castella et oppida.** There was not much time for all these doings. Metellus came somewhat late, and had to drill and discipline his forces, and he could not have marched very far into the country before the siege of Zama and the retirement into winter quarters.

l. 24. **sua**, for 'sibi opportuna.' Cf. 66. 1, 'suo loco pugnam facere;' Livy, 42. 43, 3, 'suo maxime tempore et alieno hostibus.'

l. 25. **ex copia**, 'from such chances as he had.' Cf. 98. 3.

l. 33. c. 55. **gaudium ingens.** The Romans were thankful for small mercies, for little progress had been made as yet.

P. 130, l. 1. **gereret.** Applied in a different sense to 'se' and 'exercitum,' like 'agitaret' in 54. 2.

l. 3. **magnificum ex Albini socordia**, 'made arrogant by the,' etc. Cf. 84. 1.

l. 6. **laeta agere.** It is possible to take 'laeta' as an acc. plur., but more probably it is nom., as in § 7, 'divorsi agebant,' and Tac. Agric. 5. 2, 'simulque anxius et intentus agere.'

l. 24. c. 56. **neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi.** Sallust forgets that he had said that Metellus did not wish to risk a battle; 54. 5.

l. 26. **Zamam.** Situated in a broad plain in the most pleasant and fertile part of Tunis, five days' journey from Carthage (Livy, 30. 29, 2). It was here that Hannibal encamped on his way from Hadrumetum before the decisive battle at Naraggara 202 B.C. The 'arx regni' of Jugurtha became the 'Zama regia' of Juba ('quo is coniuges liberosque habebat, quo ex cuncto regno omnem pecuniam carissimasque res comportaverat,' Bell. Afr. 91). It was lying in ruins in the time of Strabo, but was restored by Hadrian as 'colonia Aelia Hadriana Augusta Zama regia,' but scarcely any inscriptions have been found at its site (Lehrs); cf. Corpus Inscr. Lat. 8. 210.

l. 29. **perfugis.** These were probably from the auxiliary troops who had often little interest in the victory of Rome. The deserters had only a felon's death to expect if they were taken, and fought to the last to escape the cross or the wild beasts; cf. 76. 6.

P. 131, l. 2. **Siccam.** On a little tributary of the W. Melleg or eastern branch of the Bagradas. Ptolemy calls it Sicca Veneria, whence its modern name Schak-Benâr. It was infamous for the Astarte worship which prevailed there, fancifully supposed to have been transferred from Sicily in the cult of Venus Erycina (whence Veneria). Selden and Ross compare the name with Succoth Benoth, i.e. 'the huts of the maidens,' or priestesses of Astarte (2 Kings 17. 30). Valerius Maximus (2. 6, 15) speaks of the immorality which was tolerated there, like that which travellers describe in the towns of the Sahara. Its full name under the Roman Empire was Colonia Julia

Veneria Cirta Nova Sicca (cf. Corpus Inscr. Lat. 8. 1631), and the 150 inscriptions found there testify to its importance.

l. 7. **casum dare.** For this use of 'casus,' 'chance,' cf. note on 25. 9.

l. 10. **aut.** Cf. note on 6. 1.

l. 22. c. 57. **glande,** the ball of lead, shaped like an acorn or almond, which was hurled by the Roman slingers in siege operations. Many of these have been found, and can be traced to the siege of Asculum in 89 B. C., and of Perusia in 41. Some have names and rude jests stamped upon them; cf. Corpus Inscr. Lat. 1. 188.

l. 23. **proelium in manibus facere.** Copied perhaps from the Greek idiom ἐν χερσὶ μάχεσθαι, and distinguished from 'eminus pugnare.'

l. 25. **ardentia.** This reading of the best MSS. must be taken as a predicate of 'sudes,' 'pila,' and 'picem.' It seems however incongruous as a matter of fact when taken with 'sudes.' 'Ardenti' is found as another reading and preferred by some editors, 'taeda' being the resinous juice which oozes from the tree.

P. 132, l. 6. c. 58. **frustrari.** Cf. the passive sense of 'adeptam,' 101. 9; 'enisus,' 25. 2; 'interpretatum,' 17. 7.

l. 15. **inultos,** 'unpunished,' as 70. 4; 106. 6. Elsewhere, 'unavenged.'

ll. 27, 28. c. 59. **ni . . . facerent.** The imperfect tense points to the continuance of the action in question as compared to what the result would have been at an earlier moment; cf. Livy, 10. 41, 1, 'nec sustinuissent . . . clamorem . . . ni potentior alius metus . . . retineret.'

l. 31. **peditibus.** For this instrumental abl., cf. note on Cat. 27. 2.

victos dare, equivalent to 'vincere,' an idiom borrowed from the older style, especially of the comic writers.

P. 133, l. 8. c. 60. **sicuti audiri a suis.** This description may be suggested by that (in Thuc. 7. 71) of the Athenians in their camp at Syracuse watching every phase of the last struggle in the harbour.

l. 10. **vitabundi.** Used already as an adjective (38. 1), but here participially, as Livy, 25. 13, 4, 'vitabundus castra hostium.' It does not occur in Cicero or Caesar.

l. 26. c. 61. **in provinciam, quae proxuma,** i. e. in that side of the Roman province which was closest to N. 'Qua' does not seem necessary in place of 'quae,' though supported by Mommsen (Hermes 1. 428). The verb 'conlocat' implies motion, as the legions had to march into the province for the purpose.

P. 134, l. 12. c. 62. **illo cunctante.** For this use of 'ille' for the reflexive, cf. 96. 2, 'magis id laborare ut illi quam plurimi deberent.' It is not uncommon in the earlier of Caesar's works.

l. 15. **sine ulla pactione.** There was little generosity in the Roman

character, and it is strange that Jugurtha should have thought of trusting to their mercy. Their dealings with Perseus and Numantia might have taught him better, but he knew their power, and had little hope of success when they were in earnest.

l. 16. **cunctos senatorii ordinis.** We read the like in 104. 1. The ordinary council of war consisted of the 'tribuni militum' and picked centurions, but other elements were required in this case for negotiations which would require the sanction of the senate.

l. 19. **pondo.** This old ablative was originally added to the quantity specified, whether pounds or ounces in weight, and then the word 'libras' was omitted as here, and 'pondo' used absolutely.

l. 22. **eorum magna pars.** Orosius says that there were 3000 deserters handed over. They were men of the allied contingents, Thracians, Ligurians, and possibly native Africans from the province, who had little interest in the struggle. Their punishment was terrible: many were impaled alive.

l. 24. **armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus.** It was by like craft that Carthage in the Third Punic War was stripped of her resources and munitions of war, before the final terms were dictated.

l. 25. **ad imperandum.** Used in a passive sense; cf. Cic. ad Fam. 9. 25, 'nunc ades ad imperandum vel ad parendum potius; sic enim antiqui loquebantur;' Verr. 3. 82, 190, 'in ultima ac difficillima ad portandum loca frumentum imperare.'

l. 26. **Tisidium.** The locality is unknown.

l. 28. **taedio.** This seems the first use of the word in prose.

l. 32. **Numidiam Metello,** as proconsul.

P. 135, l. 2. c. 63. haruspex. Besides the old Roman practice of augury by the flight of birds, there was an Etruscan system of divination which interpreted the will of heaven as indicated in the entrails of the victims. The ministers of this never obtained the same high status as the augurs, but they were employed by the state, and had besides a lucrative practice in private life, and largely catered for the superstitious public. Cf. note on Cat. 47. 2.

l. 8. **modicus.** Cf. Cic. Legg. 3. 18, 40, 'modica sunto, id est modesta atque sedata.'

l. 9. **gloriae avidus.** Compare the description of Vell. Paterc. 2. 11, 1, 'hirtus atque horridus vitaque sanctus . . . immodicus gloriae, impotens semperque inquietus.'

Arpini altus. Juvenal (8. 245) says of him, 'Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat | poscere mercedes, alieno lassus aratro.' But there was little labour for hire on the farms of Central Italy, and he probably was a soldier at an early age. Arpinum on the Liris was also the home of Cicero.

l. 11. **Graeca facundia.** Cf. Cat. 53. 3. But Sallust puts rhetoric enough into the mouth of Marius in c. 85, inappropriate as it probably was.

munditiis is a correction of a later hand in the best MS. for 'militiis.' Wagner proposes 'mollitiis' (Rh. Mus. 1868, p. 699).

l. 13. **tribunatum militarem a populo.** The twenty-four tribunes of the first four legions were elected by the comitia centuriata, in the same form as the magistrates, and held office for a year. The remainder were nominated by the consuls. Cato the younger and Julius Caesar were candidates like Marius.

l. 15. **alium post alium.** He was 'tribunus plebis,' and afterwards praetor, but he twice failed as candidate for the curule aedileship.

l. 17. **ampliore quam gerebat dignus.** He did not shine however in his praetorship, for the duties of which he was little fitted. He was at home only in the camp.

ad id locorum. So 72. 2, while 'loci' occurs in a like idiom 102. 1; Cat. 45. 3. Cf. 'eo vecordiae,' 5. 2; 'eo miseriarum,' 14. 3.

l. 19. **plebs.** Loosely used of the lower classes. The plebeians, as distinguished from patricians, had access to all offices of state.

l. 20. **per manus,** 'from hand to hand;' so Tac. Agr. 12. 2, 'olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes (from one chieftain to another) factionibus et studiis trahuntur.'

l. 22. **pollutus.** Cf. note on 15. 5; as 'pollutus' would seem to qualify 'honos' better than 'clarus,' it has been proposed to transpose 'is,' and insert it before 'quasi.'

l. 24. **c. 64. petundi,** sc. 'consulatum.'

missionem. Used more commonly for a 'discharge,' than for 'leave of absence.'

l. 25. **rogat.** Unusual constr. with 'ab Metello;' not elsewhere in Sallust.

l. 26. **contemptor animus.** Cf. Cat. 5. 4, 'animus dissimulator.'

superbia. Velleius Paterculus notes that the Metelli had within twelve years enjoyed twelve times either consulship, or censorship, or triumph (2. 11, 3).

l. 33. **per negotia.** So Caesar, Bell. Gall. 3. 9, 2, 'cum primum per anni tempus potuit;' and cf. the familiar expressions 'per me stat,' 'per me licet.'

P. 136, l. 4. **contubernio.** Abl. without prep., like 'auspiciis,' 'imperio,' etc. This modal abl. becomes of much more frequent occurrence in Livy and Tacitus; cf. Dräger, 1. 500. The young Roman nobles who first gained their experience of war in attendance on the general were called his 'contubernales;' thus, Julius Caesar 'stipendia prima in Asia fecit M. Thermi praetoris contubernio' (Sueton. 2).

l. 5. **viginti.** While the legal age requisite for the consulship was 43, Marius was 49.

l. 7. **consultoribus.** Used in a different sense from that of Cicero for those who give, not ask advice. We should expect 'consultricibus,' as the subjects are feminine subst.

l. 9. **laxiore imperio.** Plutarch says that Marius gained the affections of the soldiers by sharing the hardships and dangers of their common life.

l. 10. **criminose et magnifice,** 'in censorious and arrogant terms.'

l. 13. **consulto trahi,** or as in the complaints of the dilatory policy of Fabius Cunctator, 'in ducendo bello sedulo tempus trahere quo diutius in magistratu sit' (Livy, 22. 25, 1).

l. 19. **c. 65. secundum,** i.e. with reversionary rights in default of the 'primi heredes.' Cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 8, 2, 'in spem secundam nepotes pronepotesque; tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat.'

l. 20. **mente inminuta.** Tacitus copies this expression, Ann. 6. 46, 2.

l. 21. **poneret,** possibly for 'ponere liceret,' if the subject be Gauda; cf. Tac. Ann. 2. 81, 3, 'Piso oravit uti traditis armis maneret in castello.'

l. 22. **equitum Romanorum.** The epithet is emphatic, for the Roman knights served now only in the general's body-guard ('cohors praetoria') or as officers or orderlies. The cavalry was almost entirely furnished by the allies.

l. 23. **appellavisset.** Used for formal recognition by Cicero de Harusp. Resp. 13, 'alter est rex iudicio senatus per nos pecunia Brogitarus per te appellatus.'

l. 26. **anxium,** 'irritated.'

l. 31. **id adeo.** Cf. Cat. 37. 2.

P. 137, l. 4. **fusa per legem Mamiliam.** Cf. note on 40, 5; with 'fusa,' compare 73. 7, 'perculsa nobilitate.'

l. 5. **procedere.** The historic infinitive is commonly used rather to express the different stages of an action, than to sum up the result (cf. note on Cat. 11. 4). It here recalls to the fancy the various influences at work without defining their relation as cause or effect.

l. 8. **c. 66. civitatis quae ab se defecerent.** Many of these were probably the old Liby-Phoenician cities which had submitted to the Numidian conquerors and become tributary, but still retained their local governments.

l. 9. **locos.** Cf. 18. 4.

l. 13. **Vagenses . . . principes.** There is here a transition from the wider subject of Vagenses, to the more limited class contained in it.

quo, by *constr. ad sensum,* refers to Vaga implied in Vagenses; cf. 103. 1, 'turrim, quo praesidium imposuerat.'

l. 17. **cupidum novarum rerum.** Sallust does not tell us, like Plutarch, that the insolence of the garrison helped to provoke the outbreak.

l. 19. **in diem tertium constituunt.** So Cicero (c. Rull. 1. 2, 4), 'auctionem constitutam in mensem Ianuarium.' The transitive use 'diem constituere' is much more common, but Sallust often uses verbs absolutely. Cf. Juv. 3. 12, 'hic ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae.'

l. 22. **praefectum oppidi.** The term 'praefectus' may be used of any officer, appointed by a commander-in-chief for special service. In the time of the Republic its chief uses in the army were connected with the contingents of the allies; cf. note on Cat. 59. 6. Turpilius was possibly the Latin 'praefectus cohortis.' Plutarch says that he was 'praefectus fabrum' (*τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τεκτόνων ἔχων ἀρχήν*, Marius 8).

l. 25. **inermos.** So 94. 2; 107. 1; though in other places Sallust has the usual form 'inermis.'

l. 30. **c. 67. arce.** The MSS. have 'arcem' or 'ad arcem.' Dietsch would supply 'obsidebat' to complete the constr.

l. 33. **anceps malum,** i. e. in front and in rear; i. e. from the 'praesidium hostium' at the citadel, and the women and children in the streets.

P. 138, l. 3. **saevissumis.** Used participially as an abl. absolute.

l. 6. **parum comperimus.** Plutarch however had no doubt on the subject; cf. note on 69. 4.

nisi. Cf. note on 24. 5.

l. 7. **integra fama.** This would be scarcely applicable to a commander whose carelessness had lost a town with its garrison.

intestabilis. Properly one who would not be accepted as a witness in a court of law. It is combined with 'improbus' in a fragment of the Twelve Tables quoted by A. Gell. 6. 7, 3, to express the penalty of infamy and outlawry.

l. 12. **c. 68. cum qua hiemabat.** Sallust, with his usual vagueness in matters of geography, does not tell us where Metellus was in winter quarters. He must have been near, if he really reached Vaga in a single night. He probably marched by the broad valley of the Bagradas, where there was little to obstruct his way.

l. 15. **circumventam.** Unusual of inanimate objects, but cf. Curtius, 5. 1, 28, 'omnium operum magnitudinem circumveniunt cavernae ingentes.'

l. 16. **abnuentis,** taken adverbially—not with 'omnia'—as in Livy, 27. 49, 4, 'fessos abnuentesque taedio et labore,' which seems to be suggested by the text.

l. 18. **pro civibus suis.** But Sallust supposes him to be addressing Numidian cavalry (§ 2), recruited probably from the tribes disaffected to Jugurtha. They are identified by their general in sympathy with Romans. Brasidas does the like in Thuc. 4. 126.

l. 21. **in primo,** sc. 'agmine,' 'in front.'

late, 'in open order,' as contrasted with 'artissume.' Most MSS. have the unmeaning 'latere.'

l. 27. **c. 69. volgum.** This obsolete form occurs also 73. 5 as 'forus' for 'forum' (Sall. Hist. 1. 76).

P. 139, l. 1. **capite poenas solvit.** There is a story given by Plutarch in his life of Marius (8) to the effect that Turpilius, whose family had long been on intimate terms with that of Metellus, was seized by the revolting faction, but released by the citizens whose affections he had won by his humanity as governor. The council of war condemned him as a traitor, to the great regret of Metellus, though the charge was found too late to be unfounded. But Marius, who had been most vehement against him, rejoiced in the thought that he had helped to bring an avenging curse on the head of his enemy Metellus.

nam is civis ex Latio. Dietsch argues that the phrase 'civis ex Latio' would naturally mean a Roman resident in Latium, or one who had passed from the Latin to the Roman franchise, and so Appian calls him *ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον*. But it is probably equivalent to 'civis Latinus,' as Latium was now passing from a geographical to a legal expression. The Latins did not enjoy the same immunity from the scourge as the Romans.

l. 5. **c. 70. suspiciens,** not commonly used in this sense, which is due probably to the contrast with 'suspectus.'

l. 8. **carum.** The best MSS. have 'clarum,' which is supported by the 'ex quo illi gloria' below, as well as by the imitation in Tac. Ann. 12. 29, 1, 'prima imperii aetate clarus acceptusque popularibus.' But in 12. 3 and 108. 1 'carus' is found with 'acceptus.' Cicero was fond of the combination 'carus atque iucundus.' Cf. pro Sulla, 21. 62.

l. 20. **in quis . . . accusare.** The historic infinitive is very rarely used in dependent clauses, and here in sense, though not in form ('in quis'), it is a primary affirmation, as in 98. 2.

l. 21. **praemia Metelli in pestem convorteret,** i.e. bring ruin upon himself in place of the rewards offered by Metellus. Cf. 'praemia an cruciatum mallet' below.

l. 25. **c. 71. forte.** The Numidian talents for intrigue are represented as very slight in this account.

l. 27. **aegrum,** 'wearied,' as Verg. Aen. 2. 268, 'quo prima quies mortalibus aegris | incipit.'

P. 140, l. 6. super. Rarely used in this way with an abl. in the best authors.

l. 9. **c. 72. obpresserat.** For the tense, cf. note on Cat. 18. 6. 'Premere' or 'reprimere' seems more natural in this sense. Cf. Tac. Ann. 6. 50, 5, 'tantoque magis iram premens.'

l. 15. **formidine quasi vecordia.** Repeated 99. 3, 'terror quasi vecordia.' The whole description of Jugurtha's suspicious alarm is highly rhetorical, and the Romans were not likely to know much about it.

l. 17. **c. 73. indicio patefacto.** A pleonastic expression imitated possibly from a Greek idiom.

l. 18. **tamquam ad integrum bellum.** So Tac. Hist. 2. 57, 1, of a war in which little progress seemed to have been made.

l. 19. **fatigantem.** Cf. note on 11. 4.

l. 25. **magis studia,** etc., 'party spirit rather than their own merits or demerits.'

l. 26. **moderata,** 'determined matters.' The word is used also absolutely in 45. 1, though with a different shade of meaning.

seditiosi magistratus, i. e. the 'tribuni plebis.'

l. 27. **capitis arcessere.** Cf. 32. 1, 'pecuniae captae accersebat.'

l. 28. **in maius celebrare.** Said to be imitated from the *ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμῆσαι* of Thuc. 1. 10, 3, and to have been copied in turn by Livy and Tacitus.

l. 30. **in manibus.** Like the 'manuum mercede' of Cat. 37. 7.

l. 32. **post multas tempestates.** Cicero says the same of himself long afterwards (c. Rull. 2. 1, 3) 'me perlongo intervallo prope memoriae temporumque nostrorum primum hominem novum consulem fecistis.'

P. 141, l. 1. rogatus quem vellet. This, though within the competence of the sovereign assembly, was an irregular proceeding. By a Sempronian law (of C. Gracchus) the senate decided before the elections what the consular provinces of the following year should be. This seems to have been done, and other departments assigned to them, while Metellus was to continue in command in Numidia. But the comitia overruled this arrangement. Inferior MSS. have supplied accordingly 'Senatus Metello Numidiam,' where words have dropped out before 'decreverat.'

l. 8. **c. 74. varius . . . agitabat.** Yet 25. 6, 'metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur.'

l. 13. **fidei popularium minus crederet.** There is little evidence of disaffection among the Numidians. No pretender is put forward, and the war has all the appearance of a national struggle.

l. 14. **repente sese Metellus . . . ostendit.** It would be hardly possible to introduce a battle more abruptly, and with fewer details of time and place.

l. 19. **numero, hostium . . . potiti.** For this variety of construction cf. Cat. 33. 1, 'plerique patriae sed omnes fama . . . expertes sumus.'

l. 21. **tuta sunt,** agreeing with 'arma,' rather than with the more important 'pedes,' unlike the case of 50. 6. There is little authority for taking 'tuta' in the sense of 'giving safety,' and it is doubtful whether we should accept the reading. Other MSS. have 'Numidas . . . tuta sunt,' in which case we must explain 'tuta' as an obsolete partic. of 'tueor,' 'defend.' There remains another variation, 'tutata sunt,' which seems better here, as in 52. 4; 85. 45.

l. 22. **c. 75. inpensius modo.** Cf. note on 47. 3.

l. 23. **Thalam.** Probably not the same as the 'praesidium cui Thala nomen' of Tac. Ann. 3. 21, 2, which is identified with a place now called by the same name in a fertile and well-watered valley near Ammaedara. Some old ruins to the east of Capsa still bear the name of Thala, and the position and neighbourhood suit the description of Sallust. Strabo speaks of it as lying waste with other old Numidian towns. The plant *mimosa gummifera,* which abounds near the ruins, bears in Arabic the name of 'thala,' and may account for the modern designation, though not for the ancient, and the evidence on which they are identified is very slight. The undoubted Thala to the north may take its name from a Berber root = 'spring' (Expl. de l'Alg. 4. 43), or from a Phoenician word = 'conduit' (Gesenius).

l. 24. **in oppidum.** For the place of the prep. cf. Livy, 5. 38, 6, 'Veios in hostium urbem fugerant.'

l. 25. **thesauri.** After all that Jugurtha had spent in bribery at Rome and surrendered to Metellus (62. 5) there could not be much left. But Roman fancy represents his treasures as inexhaustible.

multus pueritiae cultus, i.e. a large establishment was kept for the maintenance of the royal children.

l. 27. **in spatio,** 'within a space.'

l. 28. **arida atque vasta.** The neighbourhood of the Thala, which is in the south-east of Tunis, is described by travellers in strong terms. Pellissier says that the most barren part of Algeria is an Eden as compared with it.

P. 142, l. 4. **fuerint.** The best MSS. point to this reading, though it would be easier to read 'forent' with Kritz. It must be taken as a future perfect, following the historic present.

l. 10. **spe amplior.** Cf. 53. 5, 'amplius opinione.'

l. 11. **in nova deditione,** 'while their surrender was still recent.' An unusual sense of 'novus.'

l. 12. **religione pluvia magis usi,** 'paid more regard to the heaven-sent showers.'

l. 17. **c. 76. infectum.** Cf. use of 'invictum,' 43. 5.

l. 25. **proelio.** Probably a dative, not an abl. with 'intentos,' as 44. 3, 'expectatione eventus civium animos intentos.'

l. 27. **vineas . . . turribus.** How the siege train was obtained Sallust does not tell us; they left all their baggage behind and carried only water with them (75. 3). But this carelessness is characteristic of the writer.

l. 30. **nihil relicum.** This phrase, or 'nihil reliqui' with 'facere,' is generally used in the sense of 'nihil relinquere,' but here it is equivalent to 'nihil omittere,' as Caesar, Bell. Gall. 2. 26, 5.

l. 31. **multo ante labore.** The adverb 'ante' is put after a Greek idiom for an attribute, as Verg. Aen. 1. 198, 'neque enim ignari sumus ante laborum' (τῶν πρὶν κακῶν). Cf. Dräger, 1. 111.

P. 143, l. 3. **illaque et domum.** A story often repeated among the horrors of ancient sieges from the legend of Sardanapalus onwards.

conrumpunt. Cf. use in 33. 4.

l. 6. c. 77. **Lepti.** Cf. note on 19. 3. Metellus was now at the nearest point to the south-eastern coast, which he reached in the campaign—if the position of Thala has been rightly determined—and the embassy from Leptis would not have far to travel.

l. 15. **imperata.** At their great distance from the earlier seat of war they could do little but send supplies to the coast towns of the province.

nave. An obsolete equivalent for 'naviter,' as in a passage quoted by Festus from the Frivolaria of Plautus, 'nave agere oportet quod agas, non ductarie.'

l. 18. c. 78. **Sidoniis.** This may point to a very early period, as the Sidonian ascendancy and maritime influence ended with the destruction of the town by the Philistines in the 12th century B.C., after which Tyre stepped into its place. But in that period the Phoenician colonies were commonly in the east of the Mediterranean.

l. 19. **ob discordias civilis.** It was to such a cause that the new start taken by Carthage was due when the fugitives from Tyre arrived. Many such 'coloniae ex secessione' are mentioned.

l. 20. **inter duas Syrtis.** This seems a confusion between the Leptis Minor, to which the text probably refers, which is north of the Syrtes, and the Leptis Magna between them, which as of later origin was called νεάπολις. Cf. note on 19. 3. The confusion is the more strange, as Sallust himself sailed from the former to Cercina (Bell. Afr. 8).

l. 23. **in tempestate vadosa.** Cf. Pomp. Mela 1. 7, 'importuosus atque atrox et ob vadorum frequentium brevia, magisque etiam ob alternos motus pelagi affluentis ac refluentis infestus.' The danger to the seamen working off a lea-shore is caused not by tides, but by the reaction of the currents due to winds blowing off a shallow coast. Cf. Strab. 17. 3, 20.

l. 26. **Syrtes ab tractu**, i.e. from the Greek *σύρειν*. The words repeat the 'nomen ex re inditum' above, and refer to the mud and sand driven hither and thither by the changing currents.

l. 27. **lingua.** The native Berber tongue, which was quite distinct from the Phoenician, could not hold its own in the towns, but it has lasted on still in the rugged hill-country and in the Sahara.

l. 28. **legum.** The laws of the parent states were always introduced among the Phoenician colonies. Even in later days at Gades Cicero speaks of the 'Poenorum iura' as still in force (pro Balb. 14. 32).

l. 30. **frequentem Numidiam**, 'the populous districts of Numidia;' these were far to the north-west.

P. 144, l. 1. c. 79. **pleraque Africa.** This abl. 'loci,' which is frequent in later writers without the prep., is accepted on the testimony of Arusianus against the authority of the MSS., which mostly have 'pleraeque Africae.'

l. 2. **Cyrenenses quoque.** The hostility of Carthage to Cyrene was part of her general policy to keep Greek traders out of her waters. This caused the destruction of the colony of Dorieus on the Cinyps (Hdt. 5. 42).

l. 3. **una specie.** 'There is no sandy plain of this description in the bottom of the Syrtes, and though there is no river, there are certainly mountains, if hills of solid stone, from 400 to 600 feet high, may be entitled to that distinction' (Beechey, Expl. of North Africa, p. 222). With the exception of one place there is no occasion to cross the sand at all, as the sand-hills are confined to the beach.

l. 14. **tempestas.** The effects of the burning sirocco, which blows from the Sahara, are described by modern travellers in much more vivid terms as no less dangerous than storms at sea. Compare the story of the Psylli, who marched against the South Wind, and were buried in the sands (Hdt. 4. 173).

haud secus atque in mari. Cf. Lucan 9. 448, 'littore sicco quam pelago Syrtis violentius excipit Austrum | et terrae magis ille nocet.'

l. 15. **nuda.** Sallust extended the use of the adjectives of relation followed by a gen. Cf. Dräger, 1. 441.

l. 16. **gignentium**, 'plants,' as 93. 4, and Seneca's 'nascentia,' Ep. 79. Cicero expresses it by 'ea quorum stirpes terra continentur' (de N. D. 2. 10, 28), or 'res eae quae gignuntur e terra' (de Fin. 4. 5, 13).

l. 18. **morari iter.** Cf. the description in Hdt. 3. 26 of the storm of wind which buried in the sand the Persian army on its way to the Oasis of Ammon.

l. 27. **Philaenis . . . aras consecravere.** Strabo (3. 5) speaks of the so-called altars of the Philaeni, *κατὰ μέσην που τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν Σύρτεων γῆν.* Pliny (5. 5) and Mela (1. 17) also speak of them, but with no definite

description of their character, and we do not know whether they were natural mounds shaped by man's hand, or huge blocks of stone with a horizontal impost like those of Stonehenge, some of which are described by Barth in the mountains near Tripoli (Travels, I. 58). Major Rennel says that they were about seven-ninths of the way from Carthage to Cyrene. Assuming therefore the legend of the boundary being determined by the meeting of the two parties, the great difference of speed had to be accounted for.

l. 31. **c. 80. per magnas solitudines . . . ad Gaetulos.** These were the vast plains of the desert region, broken only by the occasional oases of verdure where cultivation was possible.

P. 145, l. 1. **ordines habere.** This reads as if Jugurtha had employed a Roman drill sergeant. The wild horsemen of the desert would be most formidable while fighting in their own fashion.

l. 3. **magnis muneribus.** We hear of little but bribes on both sides and boundless treasures in Numidia.

l. 9. **quis omnia . . . mos erat.** Repeated from Cat. 30. 4.

l. 14. **pro socia optinet,** 'takes rank as the partner.'

l. 15. **c. 81. placitum.** First used in prose by Sallust, afterwards by Tacitus, Ann. 2. 66, 3; 4. 37, 4.

l. 21. **regem Persen.** There was justice in these references to the past. As the attack upon Carthage in the Third Punic War was wholly unprovoked, so was that on Perseus of Macedonia in 171 B.C. The diplomatists of Rome tricked him first with lying words, till the generals were ready for the field. Not content at last with crushing him at Pydna, they blackened his memory with malignant tales.

l. 23. **ad Cirtam.** How this town had come into the possession of the Romans has not been described, and the omission is striking in the case of so important a place. It was probably surrendered by Jugurtha when he was minded to submit, for the siege of the stronghold could not have been omitted.

l. 26. **dux Romanus.** An unusual expression with Sallust. 'Dux' is omitted in some MSS. and may be an interpolation, as 'Romanus' alone would imply it.

l. 32. **c. 82. haud procul ab Cirta.** Metellus was last heard of far away to the south-east, and not a word is said of the long march over a difficult country.

P. 146, l. 3. **nam.** Elliptical, 'the province, I say, not the consulship, for,' etc. Cf. note on Cat. 19. 2.

l. 4. **supra bonum . . . perculsis.** It was the harder to bear because Metellus had been the patron of Marius, as we learn from Plutarch, and had helped him to rise to the tribunate by his influence, and appointed him his legate.

l. 8. **iam parta victoria.** No very substantial success had yet been gained, though Jugurtha had stripped himself of much of his resources by his earlier indecision. Craft and treachery so far had done more than force of arms.

l. 13. c. 83. **alienam rem.** Jealousy of a rival was often strong enough, as here, to make a general unwilling to help on the work of his successor even to further his country's cause. Some, however, went much further, and even weakened the army, or threw difficulties in the way of its advance.

l. 17. **incerta pro certis mutare.** This unusual construction of 'mutare' is illustrated by Priscian, who reads in 53. 8 above, 'pro metu repente gaudium mutatur,' where the MSS. have 'exortum.'

l. 31. c. 84. **multus . . . instare.** Imitated from the *πολὺς ἐνέκειτο* of Thuc. 4. 22, 2. Cf. also 96. 3, 'ad vigilias multus adesse.'

P. 147, l. 1. **magnifica pro se.** Copied perhaps by Livy, 9. 41, 8, 'magnifice de se ac contemptim de Romanis loquentes.' So Tac. Hist. 3. 73, 4, 'edicta pro Vespasiano magnifica.'

dolentia. A very rare use of the partic.; cf. Ovid, Met. 2. 245, 'nil fertur dixisse dolentius.'

l. 3. **regibus.** Cf. note on 43. 4.

sociisque. Madvig (Adv. 2. 292) proposes to omit 'que.' The 'socii' would include those of the Latin name.

ex Latio, 'of those of the Latin franchise,' not confined to the inhabitants of Latium, most of whom were Roman citizens. Cf. note on 39. 2.

l. 4. **militiae.** Nearly always as a locative coupled with 'domi,' except in archaic language; cf. Cic. Legg. 3. 3, 8, 'militiae summum ius habento, nemini parento.' For the change of construction in 'militiae . . . fama,' cf. above, 74. 3.

l. 5. **accire.** Cf. note on the 'evocati,' Cat. 59. 3. Marius is here represented as levying volunteers among the veterans of the Latin franchise, and the technical term of the Roman service is not used.

l. 9. **volenti putabatur.** This imitation of the Greek idiom *βουλομένῳ μοί ἐστι*, seems to have been first introduced by Sallust (cf. 100. 4), though afterwards found in Livy and Tacitus; cf. Agric. 18. 3, 'quibus bellum volentibus erat.'

belli usum, 'the requirements of war,' a passive sense found also in Cic. Verr. 4. 5, 9, 'usum provinciae supplere.'

l. 17. **disseruit.** The speech put into the mouth of Marius is much too laboured and artificial to suit his character.

l. 18. c. 85. **eisdem artibus,** etc. Imitated by Livy, 7. 33, 1, 'quibus artibus petierat magistratus, iisdem gerebat.'

l. 21. **contra ea.** Cf. note on 24. 5, 'illum supra quam ego sum petere.'

l. 24. **debere**, sc. 'videtur' from the last sentence.

l. 26. **cogere ad militiam.** Constraint might still be enforced, but practically it was now disused, for owing to the change introduced by Marius (cf. 86. 2), substitutes of a lower class were always available, and volunteering took the place of conscription. Cf. Digest 49. 16, 4, 10, 'qui ad dilectum olim non respondebant, ut proditores libertatis in servitutem redigebantur, sed mutato statu militiae recessum a capitis poena est, quia plerumque voluntario milite numeri supplentur.'

l. 28. **opinione . . . asperius.** Cf. 'amplius opinione,' 53. 5.

P. 148, l. 1. procedunt. Cf. Cat. 32. 1.

l. 3. **frustra sint.** This idiom is only used of persons here and by Plautus, though often of things, cf. 7. 6.

l. 4. **ita . . . fui.** For this sense of 'fui' = 'behaved,' cf. Cic. Att. 13. 52, 1, 'o hospitem mihi tam gravem: *ἀμεταμέλητον*, fuit enim periucunde.'

l. 5. **consueta habeam.** Cf. 100. 5.

l. 6. **est consilium.** Sallust elsewhere connects this phrase and others of the same kind with an infin.; cf. Cat. 17. 6, 'vivere copia;' 30. 4, 'vendere mos;' Jug. 89. 3, 'aggredi tempus visum est.'

l. 7. **temperare.** Equivalent to 'temperare sibi;' cf. Livy, 2. 52, 6, 'in multa temperarunt tribuni.'

l. 10. **vortit**, absolutely; cf. Cat. 6. 7, 'in superbiam convortit.'

l. 14. **prosapiae.** A word thought to have been borrowed from Cato's Origines (cf. Nonius, 1. 343). Cicero uses the word with an excuse (de Univ. Fragm. 11), 'eorum, ut utamur vetere verbo, prosapiam.' It was obsolete in Quintilian's time (1. 6, 40). The derivation seems to be the same as that of 'satus,' 'saturnus,' 'dissipare,' and our Old English word 'sib.'

multarum imaginum. Cf. note on 4. 5.

nullius stipendi, 'no experience of active service.' 'Stipendia' is often used of 'campaigns,' but the singular is rare in this sense.

l. 19. **Graecorum . . . praecepta legere.** Cicero speaks of Lucullus studying the art of war from Greek writers on his way to the struggle with Mithridates, but he was already a tried soldier. That the consuls were chosen without regard to antecedents in the field was a weak point in the Roman system. Pliny says, Paneg. 13, 'exercitationibus nostris non veteranorum aliquis, cui decus muralis aut civica, sed Graeculus magister adsistit.'

l. 20. **gerere quam fieri**, etc. Copied probably from Demosthenes, Olynth. 3. 15, *τὸ γὰρ πράττειν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν, ὕστερον ὂν τῇ τάξει, πρότερον τῇ δυνάμει καὶ κρεῖττόν ἐστι.*

l. 32. **maioribus suis.** For the constr., cf. note on Cat. 55. 2, 'idem fit ceteris per praetores.'

P. 149. l. 4. falsi. Cf. 10. 1.

l. 10. posteris quasi lumen. Cf. Juv. 8. 138, 'incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum | nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudori.'

l. 19. in vostro maxumo benificio, 'now that the boon conferred on me is so great.' For the use of 'in' cf. 14. 11, 'in imperio vostro.'

l. 21. in conscientiam duceret. Cf. 82. 3; 111. 1.

l. 22. ex animi mei sententia. This is a formula used in impressive language; cf. Cic. Off. 3. 29, 109, 'non enim falsum iurare periurare est, sed quod ex animi tui sententia iuraris (sicut verbis concipitur more nostro) id non facere periurium est.'

l. 23. bene praedicent. 'Bene' in the sense of 'ut bona videantur,' i. e. 'if they tell the truth they must colour it fairly.' Cf. note on Cat. 41. 5.

l. 24. superant. An unusual use for 'refute.'

l. 29. hastas. The 'hasta' is the general name for the spear, the characteristic weapon of the old Servian phalanx, and degradation from the higher classes of that system was called 'censio hastaria,' or forfeiture of the spear. The decoration took the form of the 'hasta pura,' i. e. without the metal point.

phaleras. These were thin plates of gold or silver in relief, and strung on strips of leather, which were fastened to the trappings of the horse, or, in the case of honorary decorations, to the soldier's breastplate.

alia militaria dona. I. e. bracelets ('armillae'), collars ('torques'), brooches ('fibulae'), crowns ('coronae'), which were worn on special occasions of parade or triumphal processions.

P. 150, l. 2. quippe quae, etc. So Plutarch in his life of Marius (2) says that he would not learn the language and literature of a people that had submitted to be slaves.

l. 4. praesidium agitare. Cf. 55. 4, 'cohortes . . . praesidium agitabant.'

l. 8. arte colam. Cf. 45. 2.

l. 9. civile, 'republican,' 'fit for freemen.' Cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 72, 2, 'non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi.'

l. 16. maiores eorum, etc. Cf. Seneca de Ben. 4. 30, 4, 'hic egregiis maioribus ortus est: qualiscunque est sub umbra suorum latet, ut loca sordida repercussu solis illustrantur, ita inertes maiorum suorum luce resplendent.'

l. 20. neque histrionem ullum. Cf. the description in Suetonius of the dinner-parties of Augustus (74), 'aut acroamata et histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo interponebat ac frequentius aretalogos;' Juv. 11. 180.

pluris preti cocum. Cf. Livy, 39. 6, 9, 'tum coquus vilissimum antiquis mancipium et aestimatione et usu, in pretio esse, et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta.' Sallust probably is thinking of a passage of Cato, who said of earlier times, 'equos carius quam coquos emebant' (A. Gell. 11. 2, 5). It is said by the Scholiast on Horace (Sat. 1. 1, 101) that Roman gossip would have it that Sallust himself hired a freedman Dama as his cook for 100,000 sesterces yearly.

l. 28. **pulverem.** Cf. Hor. Carm. 2. 1, 21, 'videre magnos iam videor duces | non indecoro pulvere sordidos.'

P. 151, l. 5. **avaritiam inperitiam atque superbiam.** The three faults are intended to be understood of the three preceding generals in the war.

l. 9. **neque.** Unusual in this construction; cf. Dräger, 1. 287.

l. 15. **decebat.** For the sequence of moods cf. Verg. Aen. 2. 54, 'si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset, | impulerat,' etc. Caesar avoids it, and Sallust has it only here.

l. 25. **c. 86. ex classibus**, i.e. from the five classes of the Servian census, who were collectively called 'assidui' or 'locupletes.' The 'iuniores' of these alone, between the age of seventeen and forty-six, were called out to serve in the field. The assessment of the fifth class is variously stated as 15,000, 12,500, or 11,000 asses. All below this were free from military duties. But by the time of Polybius those who had more than 4,000 asses were drafted into the legions, and the still poorer into the fleet. The poorest of all were called 'capite censi;' 'qui nullo aut perquam parvo aere censebantur' (A. Gell. 16. 10, 10). In the social war Marius went still further and raised levies of 'libertini,' and in the civil war he admitted slaves to the ranks.

l. 26. **alii inopia bonorum.** A change of system was necessary if long wars were to be waged in foreign lands. It would be ruin to the yeoman or trader who was called out for several years on active service, and something more like a standing army recruited by volunteers was a natural result. The volunteers would naturally come chiefly from the landless and poorer classes. The early Empire carried this tendency still further.

l. 30. **cum pretio.** Cf. Juv. 3. 183, 'omnia Romae | cum pretio.' For the use of 'cum' for a condition cf. Livy, 8. 14, 'Antium nova colonia missa cum eo ut Antiatibus permitteretur.'

l. 31. **maiore numero, quam decretum erat.** It was the recognized right of the senate to determine the extent and character of the levies; cf. 84. 3.

l. 32. **in Africam profectus.** Early in 107 B.C.

P. 152, l. 2. **tolerare nequiverat.** He enjoyed, however, a triumph on his return to Rome, and had the title 'Numidicus.'

l. 3. c. 87. **praeda onustum.** More naturally applied to the ravagers than to the country ravaged.

l. 4. **militibus donat.** Instead of selling a part for the use of the treasury.

l. 8. **libertatem . . . tegi.** A passage repeated from Cat. 6. 5.

l. 14. **laxius . . . futuros.** For the use of 'esse' with adverb, cf. 85. 7.

l. 20. c. 88. **nihil . . . tutum pati.** Imitated possibly by Tacitus, Agric. 20. 2, 'nihil apud hostes quietum pati.' It may have been suggested to Sallust by the character given by the Corinthians to the Athenians in Thuc. 1. 70, 10, *πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐᾶν.*

l. 21. **ex sociis nostris.** Probably from the communities that had surrendered earlier in the war. The Roman province itself does not appear to have been molested.

l. 23. **armis exuerat.** A phrase used by historians of a rout in which the fugitives fling away their arms.

l. 24. **belli patrandi.** Cf. note on Cat. 46. 2. The omission of the substantive verb in this construction is very unusual.

l. 27. **nudatum.** This can hardly be regarded with Kritz and others as a supine with ellipse of 'iri.' Jordan supposes words like 'in manus venturum' to have fallen out of the text after 'pateretur.'

l. 28. **nam,** elliptically, 'I speak of Jugurtha rather than Bocchus, for;' cf. 82. 2; Cat. 19. 2.

P. 153, l. 5. c. 89. **inter ingentis solitudines.** A modern traveller (Maltzan, Reise in Tunis) describes the way thither from the North as not being wearisome or monotonous, but as having great beauty of colouring, varied by the harmonious outlines of the distant mountains. Marius, however, probably avoided the direct route which leads through a better watered country than his account implies.

l. 6. **Capsa** (the modern Gaffa) is the largest of the Oases of the Dsherid, and, coming from the North, the first met with. Strabo, mentioning it among the ruined cities of Numidia, calls it the treasury of Jugurtha, but this is probably a mistake for Thala (17, p. 831). Pliny reckons it 'inter civitates quae etiam nationes iure dici possunt' (5. 4, 30). Restored by Justinian it became the seat of government in Byzacium. It has now a magnificent forest of 200,000 palms, and is a lively market for the Arab traders, but it has no ruins of the past but its baths, and the only inn resembles a dunghill rather than a place to house visitors (Hesse-Wartegg's Tunis, p. 280).

l. 7. **Hercules Libys,** i.e. the Melkarth or Baal-Chon of the Phoenicians, who like Dionysus is represented as a conqueror and founder. His travels in the West mythically typify the course of the sun and the

extension of the Phoenician colonies with the cultus of their great patron divinity.

l. 8. **inmunes, levi imperio.** The old towns in the territory conquered by the Numidians were occupied by a Liby-Phoenician people, who retained often their own forms of local government under their senate, but paid tribute to the kings, as they had done before to Carthage in many cases.

l. 12. **egentia aquae.** The natural way from the North by Feriana follows the course of a stream and is of easy access. Marius must have struck across the arid region by a less known route.

infesta. In an active sense 'dangerous,' with a modal abl.

serpentibus. Cf. note on Cat. 15. 4. Modern travellers find no such dangers, and regard the description of Sallust as an exaggeration, like the 'inter ingentes solitudines' above. Gesenius indeed derives Capsa from Kippos = 'serpent's sting' (Phoenician), but this seems hazardous.

l. 19. **una modo . . . iugi aqua.** 'Under the Dar-el-bey (the royal palace) is the largest of the three springs to which Gaffa owes her wealth, even her very existence, and which, forming quite a river all the year round, flows through the Oasis. The Arabs, destructive as they are, managed to leave the Numidian baths alone, and they use the ancient basins, surrounded by walls for bathing purposes, to this day' (Hesse-Wartegg's Tunis, p. 281).

l. 21. **incultius agebat.** Unusual as applied to the land in 55. 2, 'civitas . . . laeta agere,' but there really of people.

l. 32. c. **90. exornat.** The use of this word without a case is somewhat bold. In 52. 5, and Cat. 36. 1, it has an object in the accus. Freudenberg suggests that 'iter' has been dropped out of the text after 'providenter' from the similarity of the last syllable.

P. 154, l. 1. **Laris.** This town, called *Λάρης* by Ptolemy, becomes *Λάριβος* in Procopius, from the abl. case, whence the modern name of Lorbus. It lies on the W. Khâled, between Zama and Sicca. It became the 'colonia Aelia Augusta' under Hadrian or Pius, and the walls built by Justinian and celebrated by Corippus still remain. Cf. Corpus Inscr. Lat. 8. 209.

l. 4. **Tanain.** Possibly the Wady Hatab, which flows nearly east and west at some distance to the north of Capsa.

l. 15. c. **91. duum milium.** Here, as in 106. 5, we have the form 'duum,' while 79. 1 and Hist. 2. 83, Sallust writes 'duorum.'

l. 22. **pars . . . in hostium potestate.** The ellipse of a participle is here somewhat bold. In such case the want of a Latin equivalent for *ὤν*, *οὖσα* is felt.

l. 23. **coegere.** Only in this place coupled with 'ut' by Sallust.

l. 24. **puberes interfecti.** Tacitus follows this very closely (Ann. 13. 39, 6), 'puberes trucidati . . . vulgus sub corona venumdatum; reliqua praeda victoribus cessit.' Similar events occurred too frequently.

l. 25. **id facinus.** The historian expresses no moral censure of the cruelty which there was nothing except usage to justify.

l. 28. **benificio . . . coercitum.** This is a mere idle phrase, as Rome had done nothing to win the affections of the natives.

l. 32. **c. 92. non bene consulta,** 'rash schemes.'

in virtutem trahebantur. Cf. 85. 26, 'in conscientiam ducere;' 82. 3, 'in superbiam vortere;' 41. 5, 'in lubidinem vortere.' So Tacitus (Ann. 2. 84, 2), 'cuncta etiam fortuita in gloriam vertebat.'

P. 155, l. 5. **plura.** Some participle or phrase has dropped out of the text. A few MSS. supply 'deserta.'

conrumpit. Cf. 76. 6.

l. 10. **Mulucha.** Cf. 19. 7. This was to the extreme north-west of Numidia, as Capsa was to the far south-east, and the march was many hundred miles through a very difficult country.

l. 12. **in inmensum editus.** Copied by Tacitus, Hist. 5. 11, 'colles in immensum editos.'

l. 13. **nam.** This is awkwardly followed by another 'nam,' and the first might well be omitted.

l. 18. **machinationibus.** Equivalent to 'machinis.'

l. 23. **administrare.** Cf. 76. 3, 'opus et administros tutari;' Caesar, Bell. Gall. 7. 81, 2, 'fundis lapidibus sagittis nostros de vallo deturbare reliquaque quae ad oppugnationem pertinent administrare.'

l. 28. **c. 93. aestuans.** A word used for the violent agitation caused by any strong excitement, and thus coupled with 'invidia,' Cat. 23. 6, as by Cicero with 'desiderio' and 'dubitatione.'

Ligus. The Ligurians are mentioned as serving in early days as mercenaries of Carthage (Hdt. 7. 165, 1), and as joining Hannibal in his attack on Italy (Polyb. 3. 60). They made a long and obstinate resistance to the advances of Rome towards the Alps, and were found useful auxiliaries in guerilla warfare as in Africa. The Roman poets speak of their hardihood (Verg. Georg. 2. 168, 'assuetumque malo Ligurem'), their speed (Silius, It. 8. 607, 'pernix Ligus'), and their craft (Verg. Aen. 2. 700).

l. 31. **animum advortit . . . cocleas.** Cf. Lucr. 2. 124, 'hoc etiam magis haec animum te advortere par est | corpora.' The comic poets often coupled a pronoun 'id, illud,' etc. with 'animum advortere,' but a second noun is a marked exception in prose.

P. 156, l. 2. **faciundi . . .** The gap was supplied in early MSS. by 'animum advortit' from above, which however give no sense. In some the 'advortit' was corrected to 'accendit,' as more intelligible.

l. 16. **praesidio qui forent quattuor centuriones.** It has been felt that four centurions would be an inadequate escort, and various corrections have been proposed. Frontinus, while closely following Sallust in the description of the stratagem (3. 7), writes here 'paucos centuriones quibus perfectissimos cum velocissimis militibus aeneatores immiscuerat;' but this was probably an attempt of his own to amend the passage. Dietsch proposes to insert 'milites paucos et' before 'quattuor centuriones.' Jordan would insert 'et' only, or, if any words of Frontinus be accepted, 'milites perfectissimos et.' Eussner suggests 'centuriatos' for 'centuriones.'

l. 20. c. 94. **qui e centuriis erant.** The common reading of the MSS. is 'qui centuriis praeerant,' which is a very unlikely periphrasis for the centurions. One MS. has 'qui ascensuri erant.' Bergk (Rh. Mus. 1865) would read 'qui succenturiati erant.' The relative clause is possibly a marginal note.

l. 21. **pedibus nudis.** In the description of the ascent of the party Sallust seems to have before his memory the account given by Thucydides (3. 22, 3) of the Plataeans scaling the besieging lines.

l. 25. **laqueis vinciebat**, i.e. fastened cords to them.

P. 157, l. 3. **testudine.** This term is applied (1) to the advance of the soldiers in close order with their shields so locked in front, at the sides, and above the various ranks as to resemble the scales of a fish; (2) to the moveable shed protecting a battering-ram, which was covered with fresh skins not easily set on fire. For (1) cf. Livy, 34. 39, 'sublatis supra capita scutis, continuatisque ita intra sese, ut non modo ad caecos ictus, sed ne ad inferendum quidem ex propinquo telum loci quidquam esset testudine facta subibant.'

l. 14. **inermes.** Note the two different forms of the word in the same chapter.

l. 20. c. 95. **cum magno equitatu.** The Romans must have felt the pressing need of cavalry in such campaigns where the strength of the enemy consisted in his rapidity of movement. It was commonly the weakest arm in their service. How Sulla effected a junction with Marius at so great a distance from his base is unexplained.

l. 24. **L. Sisenna.** L. Cornelius Sisenna (B.C. 118-66), statesman, orator, and historian, is often spoken of by Cicero as a man of mark. He wrote especially of the social and civil wars, and was thought by Cicero to have easily excelled all earlier writers of history. He criticises, however, his affected style ('recte loqui putabat esse inusitate loqui,' Brut. 75. 260), and a certain extravagance ('puerile quoddam') which reminded him of the romantic Clitarchus (De Leg. 1. 27). The extracts quoted by grammarians show his love of archaic phrases, and especially of unusual adverbs in *-im*, like 'celatim,' 'vellicatim,' 'sal-

tuatim,' etc., and this may have led him to study Plautus, on whom he also wrote commentaries.

l. 27. **nobilis.** This is not a pleonasm after 'patriciae,' as those families only were noble which had borne curule offices. The Cornelian 'gens' had at this time seven patrician families, a larger number than any other. Of these the 'Sullae' were the least known.

l. 28. **extincta.** Little seemed known of his ancestors since P. Cornelius Rufinus, who was consul nearly 200 years before, and was expelled from the senate, as Plutarch tells us, for having more than ten pounds of silver plate.

l. 31. **nisi quod** introduces an exception to a general statement, but it is not clear in what way Sulla's conduct as to marriage connexions is to be understood. Nipperdey (Rh. Mus. 1874) would reject the clause, as he can find nothing recorded in regard to any of Sulla's five wives to illustrate the remark. It may be possibly explained, however, by Plutarch (Sulla, 36), *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην* (his wife Valeria) *ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας συνῆν μίμοις γυναιξὶ καὶ κιθαριστρίαις.*

l. 32. **ad simulanda.** Nipperdey and Dietsch suggest the alteration to 'dissimulanda,' as better suiting the context.

P. 158, l. 2. **ante civilem victoriam.** Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2. 17, 1, 'Sulla vir qui neque ad finem victoriae satis laudari neque post victoriam abunde vituperari potest.'

l. 3. **fortior an felicior.** He is said to have prided himself upon his good fortune, to have himself taken the epithets of 'Felix' and 'Epaphroditus,' and to have named his twin-children 'Faustus' and 'Fausta.'

l. 6. **c. 96. in Africam atque,** i.e. into the province and then on to the camp which was beyond the frontier.

l. 7. **ignarus belli.** Probably an exaggeration, as the career of every Roman noble implied some military experience.

l. 12. **illi** should be strictly 'sibi,' as Hist. 5. 11, 'Lucullus pecuniam dedit ne illi succederetur.'

l. 14. **multus adesse.** Cf. note on 84. 1.

P. 159, l. 1. **c. 97. et,** following 'simul,' denotes the immediate sequence of the fact recorded on the foregoing event. Cf. Tac. Ann. 4. 25, 2, 'simulque coeptus dies . . . et aderant semisomnos in barbaros.'

l. 3. **signum,** i.e. the trumpet call, as Cat. 60. 1, 'tuba signum dat.'

l. 9. **latrocinio magis quam proelio.** Cf. Tac. Ann. 12. 39, 3, 'crebra hinc proelia et saepius in modum latrocinii.'

l. 14. **veteres novique.** The passage as it stands seems hopeless, for 'ob ea scientes belli' cannot be related to 'novique.' It would be much simpler to read with Wölfflin 'novi veteresque,' or to believe that something has dropped out, and that the words in question have been supplied in their place from 87. 3.

l. 15. **orbis facere**, i. e. to form square in close order to repel the assailants. Cf. Veget. 1. 26, 'iubetur etiam, ut instruant orbes, quo genere, cum vis hostium interruperit aciem, resisti ab exercitatis militibus consuevit, ne omnis multitudo fundatur in fugam.'

l. 18. c. 98. **turma sua.** Equivalent to the 'praetoria cohors.' As this consisted largely of horsemen, the term 'turma,' though rarely applied, is not inappropriate. Cf. note on Cat. 60. 5.

l. 23. **cum tamen . . . remittere.** An unusual form of the historic infin. with the conjunction. Cf. note on 70. 5.

l. 29. **quaerebat.** The MSS. have various readings, 'egebat,' 'regebat,' 'gerebat,' 'rogabat.'

l. 31. **neque minus hostibus conturbatis.** Madvig de Fin. Exc. 3 rejects the explanation of Kritz that 'neque' is used here, as by later writers, in the sense of 'ne quidem,' and regards it as a careless use of the copulative when the construction was changed to an abl. abs. from 'quum milites dispersi essent nec minus hostes conturbati.'

P. 160, l. 3. **plerumque noctis.** This may have suggested to Tacitus the night scene, Ann. 1. 65, 1, 'nox per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantes saltus complerent; apud Romanos invalidi ignes interruptae voces.'

l. 4. **quia non fugerant pro victoribus agere.** Cf. Livy, 21. 9, 1, quum . . . Poenus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset.'

l. 6. **hortamento**, for 'hortatione.' Cf. the use of the same termination in 'munimentum,' 'turbamentum,' 'dehonestamentum,' 'delenimentum,' which occur in Sallust.

l. 9. c. 99. **uti per vigilias.** The blast of either 'tuba' or 'buccina' between the watches. Livy (7. 35, 1) speaks of the 'secundae vigiliae buccina datum signum.' Lucan 8. 24, 'ne rumpite somnos | castrorum vigiles, nullas tuba verberet aures.'

l. 11. **cohortium**, i. e. of the allied contingents, here distinguished from the cohorts of the legions.

l. 21. c. 100. **coeperat in hiberna.** There is a gap here in the text which has been variously supplied by 'it,' 'proficiscitur,' etc. Tne 'in hiberna' are possibly suggested only by 97. 3. Nipperdey thinks a verb unnecessary, and compares 'Caesar in Campaniam' of Tac. Ann. 4. 57, 1, and would insert 'nam' before 'propter' (Rh. Mus. 1874).

l. 22. **in oppidis maritumis.** Perhaps Sallust means of the Roman province, as he makes Marius take Cirta on his way, but the whole account of this campaign is absurd in the extreme. Marius is represented as near Cirta at the close of the summer, as then marching by Lares to Capsa and back again to the extremest point to the north-west of Numidia, and returning by Cirta to the coast before the winter, to say nothing of sieges and battles. The distance alone is enormous. It is probable that

Sallust has confused the operations of two distinct years, for Marius went out in 107 and did not return till 105, and there was nothing to detain him after the capture of Jugurtha.

l. 24. **quadrato agmine.** Cp. note on 46. 6. It does not appear to be quite the same as the use in Livy, who applies it to the advance of three lines at right angles, without preparation for attack on the rear Cf. Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung, 2. 410.

l. 25. **dextumos.** An unusual superlative which Festus speaks of as obsolete, and which was probably copied from the older writers.

l. 31. **cogebat.** We may supply an infin. from the 'intentus,' as Livy, 1. 29, 3, 'raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis.'

l. 32. **iter facere** is in the infin., because it is connected by the 'neque secus atque' with the historic infin. 'munire.' In calmer style both verbs would be in the imperf.

excubitum in portas. This seems at an earlier period to have been the duty of the 'velites,' who had no settled place in the camp, but though mentioned in this war, they soon disappear.

P. 161, l. 2. **diffidentia futurum.** This use of 'futurum' for 'fore' with a plural is illustrated in A. Gell. 1. 7, 8 by several passages from the older annalists, and would be here an archaism. The better MSS. have 'futuri,' which would naturally follow the subst. 'diffidentia,' whose verbal meaning would extend to the object 'quae imperavisset.' Jordan thinks the original may have been 'diffidens factum iri.'

l. 3. **volentibus esset.** Cf. note on 84. 3.

l. 5. **malo,** 'punishment.' Cf. Livy, 4. 49, 10. Jordan suggests 'metu.'

l. 7. **habuisse,** with a double construction as taken with 'consuetam' (cf. 85. 7) and 'voluptati.'

l. 9. **c. 101. quarto denique die.** The starting-point is not specified. It can hardly be the fort on the Mulucha, as that was several hundred miles away.

l. 18. **turmatim.** Cf. note on 49. 2.

l. 24. **invadunt.** Cf. Cat. 43. 1, 'Lentulus cum ceteris . . . constituerant.'

l. 32. **in perculsos . . . incedere.** An unusual construction, for in the passage of Livy, 9. 21, 2, which is quoted in illustration, 'infestior tamen in erumpentes incessit,' the verb may possibly be 'incessere,' not 'incedere.'

P. 162, l. 1. **aberant.** Jordan suspects that 'aberat' was in the text. But cf. Livy, 8. 32, 8, 'nec procul seditione aberant.'

l. 3. **adeptam.** Cf. note on Cat. 7. 3.

l. 7. **hostes iam undique fusi.** Orosius (5. 15) has a distinct account of this struggle, which lasted three days ; he represents the condition of the Romans as at one time almost hopeless, and as changed by the good

fortune of heavy rains. The description of the fight in Tac. Agr. 37. 2 has been thought to be borrowed from this chapter, 'tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum. Sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare.'

l. 29. c. **102. inopi.** A word here meaningless, and which may be rejected as probably a corruption of the preceding 'incipio.' Selling suggests 'imperi' in its stead.

l. 30. **rati**, agreeing with 'Romani,' understood in 'populo Romano.'

l. 33. **parentes.** Cf. note on 3. 2.

P. 163, l. 5. **scilicet.** Parenthetical, not as in 4.6, where it takes an infin.

l. 13. **unde vi Iugurtha expulerit**, as though Bocchus had at some time annexed by force the part of Numidia which adjoined his own kingdom, and were now in arms to defend it. If Marius be taken as the subject to the verb, the reference must be to the eastern regions far away from Mauretania.

l. 14. **vastari . . . pati nequivisse.** A rare combination of three infinitives. Cf. Livy, 4. 41, 1, 'credere perrumpi potuisse.'

l. 16. **actutum.** A correction of Jordan for 'ac tum' of the MSS. The word is found in Livy, 39. 45, 7, in official language, and in the older drama, as afterwards in Vergil (Aen. 9. 254). It seems to have become obsolete, though retained for a while in public documents. Cf. Jordan, Krit. Beitr. p. 350.

l. 17. **copia facta**, 'after free intercourse.'

l. 23. c. **103. Turrim regiam.** The Numidian kings seem to have set up a royal palace in many of the old Liby-Phoenician towns, to some of which the epithet of 'regia' clung in consequence, like Zama, Bulla, etc.

perfugas omnis praesidium, 'a garrison consisting wholly of deserters.' Cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 42, 7, 'hunc ego nuntium patri laeta omnia aliis e provinciis audienti feram;' Livy, 21. 32, 7, 'castra inter confragosa omnia . . . locat.'

l. 25. **venerant**, equivalent to 'evenerant.' Cf. 4. 4.

l. 26. **ex omni copia.** A whole class of MSS. omit the long passage from these words to 'pacem vellet' of 112. 3, which must have been lost from the parent MS.

l. 28. **si placeat . . . iubet.** For the sequence of tenses cf. Cat. 45. 2, the only other case in which the pres. conj. of a secondary clause precedes the historic present of a primary sentence. Cf. Dräger, 1. 209.

l. 29. **Romam legatos ire.** Bocchus had learned enough of Roman character to know that he could only safely deal with the senate, if the terms were high on which he proposed to treat.

P. 164, l. 2. **meriti.** For this, which seems out of place, Gertz suggests 'veriti.'

l. 2. **adcurate.** Cf. 16. 3.

l. 5. **largitio.** Often used in the sense of bribery. Cf. Cic. de Orat. 2. 25, 105, 'raro illud datur ut possis liberalitatem et benignitatem ab ambitu atque largitione seiungere.'

l. 6. **nisi pariter volens,** i.e. 'putabatur,' 'without being thought as kind-hearted as he was liberal.'

l. 9. **benivolentiae esse,** i.e. to imply that he was well disposed to Rome.

l. 13. c. 104. **quo intenderat.** Cf. 64. 1, 'eodem intendere;' 74. 1, 'quocumque intenderat.'

l. 16. **senatorii ordinis.** Cf. note on 62. 4.

l. 21. **Mauri . . . tres . . . duo.** An unusual case of apposition, as there are distinct verbs coupled with 'tres' and 'duo.'

l. 22. **quaestor stipendium.** It was the especial duty of the quaestor at Rome to make the necessary payments from the treasury to the executive in accordance with instructions from the senate; the quaestor attached to each provincial governor was paymaster to the troops and the official staff.

l. 26. **deprecati sunt,** 'urged in excuse.'

amicitiam et foedus. Bocchus certainly demanded some more solid advantages in return for his treachery to Jugurtha, but Roman vanity draws the veil over these mean traffickings.

P. 165, l. 1. c. 105. **peditum, item funditorum.** As the 'sagittarii' and 'Paeligni' were infantry the word 'peditum' is out of place, and Madvig proposes to omit it.

l. 2. **cohors Paeligna.** The Paeligni were in the mountainous country near the Lake Fucinus. Their chief city was chosen as the capital of the seceders in the Social War. The detachment in question would be well fitted for service in the rugged tracts of Numidia.

velitaribus armis. These were a smaller shield, shorter javelins, and the Spanish sword (Livy, 26. 4, 5), which were no less effectual than others against the Numidians, 'neque secus atque aliis armis muniti.'

l. 16. c. 106. **incerto voltu.** Used also by Cicero (pro Cluentio 19) for a look of alarm.

l. 22. **quos ducebat.** For this indic. in oratio obliqua, cf. Cat. 14. 7; 17. 7, etc.

l. 25. **statim milites cenatos esse.** Possibly it may be better to transpose the comma and connect 'in castris' with 'ignis.' It is doubtful whether 'cenatos esse' can possibly be explained as following 'iubet' in the sense of 'bids them finish their meal,' and it seems better to take both 'esse' and 'fieri' as historic infinitives expressing the hurry of the proceedings. It seems impossible to take with Constans 'statim caenatos esse' as a relative clause,

'as soon as they had supped,' on which the 'ignis fieri' immediately followed. For the mixture of historic infinitives with indicative moods we may compare 98. 2.

l. 26. **prima vigilia.** There were four watches, each of three hours.

P. 166, l. 1. **c. 107. ab iniuria . . . prohibet,** 'screens from violence.' For the construction, cf. 22. 4; 45. 3.

l. 2. **paucis . . . pugnatum.** A dative with passive partic., after the analogy of 'cognitum,' 'compertum,' etc.; cf. 70. 2, 'ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae.'

l. 10. **ac.** In adversative sense following a negative, as Caesar, Bell. Gall. 4. 35, 2, 'impetum hostes ferre non potuerunt ac terga verterunt.'

l. 18. **acciderant.** For the use of this verb with a person, cf. 88. 6.

l. 30. **c. 108. consulta sese omnia, etc.** This may be 'that he (Bocchus) was keeping strictly (to the letter) the terms of the agreement with him' (Sulla). Nägelsbach (28. 2), however, compares Cic. Legg. 2. 4, 9, 'vim non habere ad recte facta vocandi et a peccatis avocandi,' where the past participles have a future sense, and so interprets 'consulta;' cf. also Tac. Hist. 2. 4, 3, 'magnis consultis annuere deam.' We should in that case translate 'that he was reserving the whole question for consideration.' This would be supported by Tacitus, Ann. 4. 40, 1, 'cum tempus tanquam ad integram consultationem petivisset.'

l. 32. **quo res conmunis licentius gereretur.** Epexegetical of 'legatum,' 'received under cover of arranging matters in concert with greater freedom,' i. e. to lull the suspicions of Jugurtha. Some MSS. introduce 'illum accitum' before 'quo' to make the passage smoother. Dietsch and Jordan believe that words have slipped out of the text. Thomas boldly reads 'quo [ad colloquium exhibito fore uti] res,' etc, without any MS. authority.

P. 167, l. 2. **attinuisse,** 'kept in suspense;' borrowed from the language of the comic poets by Sallust and Tacitus.

l. 15. **c. 109. sanctus vir.** So Vell. Paterculus speaks of Marius as 'vita sanctus,' and of Pompeius as 'sanctitate praecipuus.'

l. 21. **c. 110. fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando, etc.,** 'I grant that my temporary need has been the price I have had to pay for your friendship.'

l. 25. **redditam gratiam.** The usual idiom is 'referre gratiam,' but 'reddere benificium;' yet Tacitus, Hist. 2. 48, 3, 'ut pro incolumi tota domo ne hanc quidem sibi gratiam redderet.'

l. 33. **egrediar.** With acc. here, generally with abl., and Cat. 49. 4 with 'ex' and abl.

P. 168, l. 2. **haud.** Only here with partic., generally in Sallust with adjectives and adverbs.

l. 8. c. 111. **copiam Iugurthae haberet.** Unusual idiom for 'Jug. tradendi cop. hab.'

l. 10. **partem, quam nunc peteret.** The real object of Bocchus is here admitted. He doubtless coveted the west of Numidia, and was ready to accept it either from Jugurtha or the Romans as the price of his alliance.

l. 14. **fatigatus.** Cf. note on 11. 4.

l. 25. c. 112. **pacem conventam,** for 'pacem quae convenit' as in 38. 10.

l. 29. **in potestatem habuisset.** A compressed construction for 'got into his power and kept,' as Caesar, Bell. Civ. 1. 25, 2, 'quo facilius omne Hadriaticum mare in potestatem haberet;' and Cicero, pro L. Man. 12. 33, 'quum vestros portus in praedonum fuisse potestatem sciatis;' Tac. Hist. 1. 87, 1, 'in custodiam habitos.' Cf. Constans, p. 99.

P. 169, l. 9. c. 113. **quae scilicet.** The 'quae' refers to the varied gestures and expression described in 'voltu corporis . . . varius.' For the constr. of 'scilicet,' cf. note on 4. 5.

l. 17. **Iugurtha Sullae vinctus traditur.** Sulla is said to have been so proud of this stratagem as to have the scene engraved upon a signet-ring, an act of vainglory which estranged Marius from him (Plutarch, Sulla 3).

l. 19. c. 114. **per idem tempus,** i. e. 105 B.C. Oct. 6 was the date of the great disaster.

Gallos, i. e. the Cimbric and Teutonic hordes which had wandered from their homes a few years before, probably from the low countries between the Elbe and the Baltic, and repeatedly shattered the Roman armies. Eighty thousand soldiers are said to have fallen (Liv. Ep. 67) in the last defeat, due partly to the jealousies and rashness of the two generals. The name Galli is wrongly applied by Sallust to the invaders, while Strabo (4. 4, 3) and Tacitus (Germ. 37. 2) call them Germans. It has been thought indeed that the Cimbri might be Celts, because the Welsh call themselves Cymry, but Plutarch says the Germans gave the name to them as robbers (possibly 'Kämpfer' = 'fighters'). The statements of the ancients on the subject are quite vague and fantastic, and we can only suppose that they were all of German race, since they came probably from the north of Europe, and for some centuries that race was on the move towards the south.

l. 22. **prona,** equivalent to 'facilia.' Cf. Tac. Agric. 33. 4, 'omnia prona victoribus.'

l. 23. **Gallis pro salute.** Cf. Tac. Agric. 26. 3, '(Romani) securi pro salute de gloria certabant.' Not merely at the great disaster of the allies in 390 B.C., which was observed as a black-letter day in the

Roman calendar, but in later invasions and alarms of 'Gallic tumult' as it was called, and especially at the battle of Sentinum in the Third Samnite War.

postquam bellum in Numidia confectum. Marius went to Africa early in 107 B.C. and returned at the end of 105. There was little for him to do in the province after the capture of Jugurtha, as we hear of no special arrangements for its organization, and the war therefore was probably not ended till 105. Sallust speaks indeed of only one winter in which the army retired to its quarters ('hiberna,' 100. 1), but the marches described were far too long for a single autumn.

l. 25. **consul absens factus est.** This was a double irregularity. Custom required a candidate for the consulship to be at Rome to give in his name ('profiteri'), and there was a constitutional interval of ten years required before the consulship could be held a second time. The elections must have been very late in 105, as the news would not reach Rome till late in October.

l. 26. **consul triumphavit.** A most unusual combination in the last century of the Republic. The consuls commonly remained in Rome, and took the command of the armies only as proconsuls. In this abrupt close Sallust says nothing more of the fate of Numidia and its king. In accordance with the heartless custom of the age Jugurtha was exposed to view in the triumphal procession, and then flung into the dungeon to perish of starvation. Yet he had made a gallant struggle for the independence of his country, and the bad faith was wholly on the Roman side. Bocchus gained the prize which he had coveted, and was allowed to annex the region between the Mulucha and the Ampsaga.

INDEX OF PERSONS, PLACES, AND LAWS,

Referred to in the Introduction and Notes.

Acilian Laws, 263, 269.
Adherbal, 240.
L. Aemilius Paulus, 20, 216, 273.
Afri, 248.
Allobroges, 21, 215, 232, 264.
Amiternum, 1.
Ampsaga, 307.
Ancyranum Monumentum (autobiographical inscription of Augustus), 184, 196, 270.
Antias, Q. Valerius (annalist, 100–80 B.C.), 6.
Antipater, L. Caelius (historian in the age of the Gracchi), 12, 171.
C. Antonius Hybrida, 198, 201.
M. Antonius, 198, 237.
M. Antonius Creticus, 205.
Appian (of Alexandria, historian, 2nd century), 212, 223, 274.
Apuleius, L. (of Madaura, 2nd century), 228.
Aquae Sextiae, 37.
Aristotle, 184.
Arpinum, 207, 282.
Arretium, 202.
Asconius, Q. Pedianus (commentator on Cicero, 1st century), 2, 3, 17, 188, 190, 193, 198.
Asculum, Siege of, 281.
Asinius Pollio, 15.
Ateius Philologus, 5.
Atlas, Mount, 31, 37, 250.
Augustine, St., 179.
Aurelian, 3.
Aurelius, Victor (historian, 4th century), 178, 196.
Aures, Mount, 37.
Autronius. See Paetus.
Aventine, Mount, 182, 248, 263.
Avienus, Festus (4th century), 7.

Bagradas (now Medjerda), 32, 33, 259, 285.
Barth, H. (Travels), 291.
Beechey, F. W. (Expedition to North Africa), 255.
Beesly, Prof., 25 n.
Bellona, Temple of, 260.
Bentley, Dr. R., 227.
Berbers, the, 31, 251.
Bergk, Th., 270, 299.
Bernays, 270.
Bestia, L. Calpurnius, 260.
Bestia, L. Calpurnius (the grandson), 217.
Binsfeld, J., 187.
Blakesley, J. W. (Four Months in Algeria), 257.
Bocchus, 8, 29, 41, 255, 304, 307.
Bogud, 41.
Bomilcar, 266.
Bruce, James (Travels), 241.
Byzacium, 36, 248, 251, 254.

Caelius, M., 26, 188.
Caesar, J., 17, 18, 23, 41, and *passim*.
Calama, 267.
Calpurnia, Lex de ambitu, 16.
Cambe, 34, 35.
Camerinum, 201.
Capsa, 9, 288, 296.
Capua, 204, 205.

Carthage, 28, 35, 40, 245, 254, 290.
Cassius, Dion (historian, 2nd century), 3, 16, 194.
Cassius, Longinus, 198, 264.
Cassius, Sp., 214, 264.
Castulonensis saltus, 193.
Catabathmus, 254.
Cato, M. (the Censor), 11, 173, 175, 182, 227, 241, 262, 293.
Cato, M. (the Stoic), 24, 194, 227, 283.
Catulus, Q. Lutatius, 210, 219, 221, 259.
Caudine Forks, the, 268.
Censors, the, 199.
Cercina, 3.
Cethegus, C., 190, 202, 220.
Charisius (grammarian, 4th century), 234.
Cheliff, R., 32.
Cicero, M., 17, 19, 20, 172, and *passim*.
Cimbri, 42, 261, 306.
Cincius Alimentus (historian, praetor 210 B.C.), 182.
Cinna, L. Cornelius, 219.
Cirta (now Constantine), 7, 34, 198, 239, 256. 291.
Claudius Quadrigarius (annalist, 100-80 B.C.), 172.
Clodius, P., 2.
Coloniae, 190.
Columna rostrata, 171, 278.
Constans, L. (de Sermone Sallustiano), 185, 230, 279, 304, 305.
Cornelia Gens, 300.
Cornelia Lex, 202.
Cornelius, C., 221.
Cornelius Nepos, 228.
Corssen, W. (Aussprache u. Vokalismus der latein. Sprache), 171, 174, 180, 181, 182, 183, 187, 188, and *passim*.
Cotta, L. Aurelius, 16.
Crassus, M. Licinius, 17, 20, 191, 203, 214, 221.
Curius, Q., 211.
Cyrene, 290.

Dama, 295.
Damasippus, 225.
Demosthenes, 5, 227, 263, 293.
Dietsch, R., 172, 177, 179, 187, 193, 196, 197, 207.
Diomedes (grammarian, 4th century), 234, 235.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus (historian, early in 1st century), 228.
Döderlein, L., 226.
Donatus Aelius (grammarian, 4th century), 246, 277.
Dräger, A. (Hist. Synt.), 188, 189 218, 220, 229, 238, 283, 289, 290, 295.
Drumann, W. (Geschichte Roms) 215.

Emporia, 35.
Ennius, Q., 181, 246.
Etruria, 20, 202, 203.

Fabia, 188.
Q. Fabius Allobrogicus, 215.
Q. Fabius Maximus, 183, 237.
Q. Fabius Pictor (historian, born circa 253 B.C.), 182.
Fabri, E., 186, 187, 188, 197, 216.
Faesulae, 20, 217.
Farine, Ch. (Les Kabyles), 256.
Feriana, 297.
Festus, Sex. Pompeius (grammarian, probably of 2nd century, excerpts from Verrius Flaccus), 188, 190, 211, 231, 233, 261, 270, 274.
Flaccus, L. Valerius (author of Law in 86 B.C.), 19, 209.
Flaccus, L. Valerius (defended by Cicero 59 B.C.), 218.
Flaminia Gens, 210.
Flaminia, Lex minus solvendi, 208.
Florus (hist. epitom. 2nd century), 180.
Fonteius, M., 216.
Fregellae, 248.
Freudenberg, 297.
Friedländer, L. (Sittengeschichte Roms), 224.

Frontinus, Sex. Julius (writer on strategy, 1st century), 299.
Fronto, M. Cornelius (rhetor. 2nd century), 172, 185.

Gabinian bill, 214.
Gabinius, M., 188, 205.
Gaetuli, 36, 251.
Gaius (author of Institutes, 2nd century), 263.
Galba, C., 269.
Gauda, 41.
Gellius, A. (antiquarian critic, 2nd century), 4, 14, 175, 184, 186, 190, 202, 209, 217, 222, 240.
Gellius, L., 193.
Genucia Lex, 208.
Gergashites, the, 34.
Gergis, 219.
Gertz, 303.
Gesenius, 254, 288, 297.
Gracchi, the, 10, 27, 31, 177, 190, 204, 271.
Graecostasis, 215.
Gründel, Fr. (Quaestiones Sallustianae), 172, 181.
Gulussa, 240.

Hadrian, 12.
Hadrumetum (now Sûsa), 254.
Haupt, M., 211.
Hercules, 36, 251, 296.
Herodotus, 33, 37, 40, 173, 181, 199, 248, 254, 290.
Hesse-Wartegg, Chev. de, (Tunis), 33, 259, 296, 297.
Heyne, C., 226.
Hiempsal, 28, 36, 250.
Hieronymus (St. Jerome), 187.
Hilarus, 201.
Hippo Diarrhytus (now Bizerta), 34, 254.
Hippo Regius (now Bona), 245, 254.
Homer, 184.

Ibn Khaldoun (Histoire des Berbères), 249.
Ihne, W. (History of Rome), 231, 262, 264.
Isidorus (7th century), 252.
Isocrates, 249.

Jebusites, the, 34.
Jordan, H., 180, 196, 202.
Joshua, 34.
Juba, 41, 198, 250.
Jugurtha, 28, and *passim.*
D. Junius Brutus, 200.
D. Junius Silanus, 201, 210, 222.
Juvenal, 171, 272, 282, 285, 294.

Kabyles, the, 32, 38, 40.
Kortte, G. (Cortius), 203, 240.
Kritz, Fr., 172, 176, 184, 185, 208, 212.

Lactantius (3rd century), 3, 4.
Laeca, M. Porcius, 21, 22, 202.
Lares (now Lorbus), 297.
Latinum nomen, 268.
Lenaeus (freedman of Pompeius), 2, 11.
Lentulus. See Sura.
Leo Africanus (Geog. History of Africa, tr. by Pory), 250.
Leptis, magna (Lebda), minor (Lemta), 34, 245, 254, 255, 289.
Lewis, Sir G. C., 182.
Libyes, 251.
Liby-Phoenicians, 35, 38, 284, 297, 303.
Licinian laws, 266, 271.
Ligures, 298.
Livy, 11, 16, 172, 185, and *passim.*
Lucan, 240, 252, 290.
Lucretius, 298.
Lucullus, L., 293.
Luscius, L., 212.

Macaulay, Lord, 172.
Macer, C. Licinius (annalist, trib. pl. 73 B.C.), 6.
Macrobius, A. A. (5th century), 3, 4, 202.
Madvig, J. N., 188, 272, 276, 279, 292, 301.

Mago, 38.
Maltzan (Reise in Tunis u. Tripoli), 252, 276, 296.
Mamertinus Carcer, 231.
Mancinus, C. Hostilius, 268.
Manilian bill, the, 191, 205.
A. Manlius Torquatus, 228.
T. Manlius Torquatus, 214.
M. Manlius Capitolinus, 262.
C. Manlius, 20, 21, 200.
Marcellus, M., 186.
Q. Marcius Rex, 204.
Marius, C., 8, 11, 28, 31, 42, 190, 275.
Marius Gratidianus, 18, 178.
Marocco, 37.
Marquardt, Joachim (Römische Staatsverwaltung), 302.
Maschouasch, 37, 38.
Masinissa, 28, 40, 41, 239, 243, 246, 250, 254.
Massaesyli, 28, 37.
Massilia, 209.
Massyli, 28, 37, 40, 239.
Mastanabal, 240.
Mauretania, 255.
Mauri, 37, 253.
Maxyes, 37, 38.
Medes, 36, 253.
Medjerda. See Bagradas.
Medrassen, 243.
Melcarth, 36, 251, 255.
Memmius, C., 247, 260.
M. Metellus, 20, 23.
Q. Metellus Numidicus, 9, 29, 30, 205, 272, 275, 295.
Q. Metellus Celer, 205.
Micipsa, 28, 39, 240, 241, 259.
Milo, 2, 200.
Mithridates, 178; wars with, 209, 293.
Moghreb, 31.
Mommsen, Th., 266, 272, 281.
Movers, D. F. (Die Phoenizier), 36, 251, 253, 259.
Mulucha, 10, 28, 37, 255, 298.
Mulvius Pons, 218.
Mummius, L., 185.
Municipia, 190.
Murena, C. Licinius, 217.
Murena, L., 19, 201, 210.
Muthul, 276.

Nägelsbach, C. F. (Lateinische Stilistik), 197, 305.
Narbonensis, prov., 217.
Nepos. See Cornelius.
Nero, Tiberius, 223.
Nerva, 3.
Nipperdey, C., 183, 303, 211, 212, 300, 301.
Numantia, 241, 268, 282.
Numidians, the, 37, 353.

Oases, the, 37.
Opimius, L., 204, 248, 262.
Oran, 32.
Orcini, 237.
Orosius (hist. epitom. 5th century), 3, 6, 188, 254, 266, 282, 302.

Paeligni, 304.
Paetus, P. Autronius, 16, 191.
Papiria Lex, 208.
Parker, J. H. (Archaeology of Rome), 231.
Parthians, the, 244.
Paulus. See Aemilius.
Pellissier (Exploration de l'Algérie), 288.
Persae, 36, 252.
Perseus, 182, 282, 291.
Petreius, M., 234.
Pharusii, 252.
Philaenon arae, 255, 290.
Philologus. See Ateius.
Phoenicians, the, 34, 251.
Piso, Cn., 17, 194, 198.
Plato, 5, 236.
Plautia lex de vi, 206.
M. Plautius Silvanus, 206.
Plautus, 171, 178, 185, 197, 223, 232.
Playfair, Col. (Travels in the steps of Bruce), 244, 250, 276.
Pliny, C. Plinius Secundus (Hist. Natur.), 32, 226, 233, 249, 250.
Pliny, C. Plinius Caecilius Se-

cundus (Epistolae), 176, 177, 182, 187, 263.
Plutarch, 200, 203, 225, 284, 285, 291, 294, 300, 306.
Polybius, 211, 274.
Pompeius, Cn., 18, 205.
Pompeius, Q , 242.
Pompeius, Trogus (hist. under Augustus), 8.
Pomponius Mela (geogr. 1st century), 33, 39, 188, 249, 250, 256, 289.
Pomptinus, C., 218.
P. Popillius Laenas, 204, 260, 262.
Porcian laws, 25, 224.
Postgate, J. P., 279.
Postumius, Sp., 268.
Praeneste, 21.
Priscian (gramm., 5th century), 186, 193, 196, 277, 279, 292.
Probus, M. Valerius (gramm. 1st century), 178, 189 (perhaps another of 4th century).
Procopius (hist. 6th century), 35, 252.
Psylli, 290.
Punic language, the, 35.

Quadrigarius. See Claudius.
Quintilian (Institutiones Oratoriae, 1st century), 8, 11, 13, 15, 171, 176, 185, 196, 210, 245, 265, 293.
Quirinal, Mount, 3.

Rabirius, C., 204, 205.
Reate, 201.
Rennel, Major, 291.
Rhodes, 209, 223.
Ritschl, Fr., 199, 214, 229, 232.
Rufus, P, Rutilius, 6, 277.
Rullus, P. Servilius, 212.

Sacer, Mons, 182.
Sahara, the, 31, 38, 40.
Saturninus, L., 43, 177, 272.
Scaevola, Mucius, 203.
Scaurus, M. Aemilius, 6, 193, 247, 258.
Schöll, R., 224, 226.
Schöne, 177.
Schröder (Phoen. Sprache), 240, 255, 276.
P. Scipio Aemilianus, 177.
P. Scipio Africanus, 176, 200, 234, 241.
P. Scipio Nasica, 260, 262.
Secessions, the, 209.
Selling, C., 303.
Sempronian laws, 25, 204, 212, 260, 263, 287.
Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, 271.
Tib. et C. See Gracchi.
Seneca, 172, 174, 186, 198, 251, 290, 294.
Sentinum, battle of, 307.
Septimius (transl. of Dictys belli Troj. ann. 4th century), 221.
Sergii, 178.
Sertorius, 195.
Servius Honoratus (gramm. and comm. 4th century), 3, 178, 181, 226, 252.
Sestius, P., 205.
Sextia Licinia lex, 208.
Shaw, Dr., 240.
Sibylline books, 219.
Sicca, 280.
Sidon, 34, 35, 254, 289.
Silanus, D. Junius, 19.
Silius Italicus, 275, 298.
Simcox, G. (Hist. of Latin Literature), 172.
Sisenna, L. Cornelius (hist. 118–66 B.C.), 6, 12, 177, 217, 299.
Sittius, P., 8, 198, 256.
Social War, the, 238, 304.
Sophronisba, 239.
Spartacus, 191.
Steup, 177, 212, 236.
Stoics, the, 227.
Strabo, (geog. 1st century), 249, 255, 256, 259, 288, 290.
Suetonius, 16, 17, 193, 194, 283, 294.
Sulla, P. Cornelius (dictator), 1, 28, 178, 190, 192, 222.

Sulla, P. Cornelius (consul elect 66 B.C.), 16, 26.
Sulla, P. Cornelius (accomplice of Catiline), 190.
Sulpicius Severus (hist. 4th century), 178, 252.
Sura, P. Lentulus, 190, 220.
Suthul, 266.
Syphax, 37, 41, 239.
Syrtes, 28, 34, 289.

Tacitus, 10, 171, 177, 179, 186, 182, and *passim*.
Tanais, 297.
Tangier, 33, 35.
Tell, the, 31.
Terence, 195, 199.
Terentia, 4, 188.
Terentia Cassia lex, 213.
Teutones, 306.
Thala, 288.
Thapsus, 234.
Thera, 254.
Thomas, 305.
Thucydides, 5, 8, 13, 14, 15, 179, 180, 182, 183, 270, 272, 273, 281, 287, 296, 299.
Thugga, 38.
Torquatus, L. Manlius, 16, 17.
Touaregs, the, 38, 40.
Tripoli, 33.
Tritonis, L., 37.
Trogus. See Pompeius.
Tullianum, 220, 231.
Tunis, 33, 37.
T. Turpilius Silanus, 286.
Tyre, 35, 254.

Utica, 35, 259.

Vaga (now Bedja), 261, 275.
Valerian laws, 25, 204, 224.
Valerius. See Flaccus.
Valerius Maximus (fact. et dict. memor. 1st century), 186, 214.
Vargunteius, L., 190, 202.
Varro, M., 2, 183, 185, 209, 212, 225, 236, 249, 276, 277.
Vegetius (epit. rei militaris, 4th century), 234, 301.
Velleius Paterculus (hist. 1st century), 183, 184, 187, 195, 209, 213, 277.
Vercellae, 27.
Vespasian, 3.
Volaterrae, 202.
Volturcius, T., 219.
Vopiscus, Fl. (hist. 4th century), 182.

Wagner, W., 196, 199, 222, 283.
Wesenberg, A., 199.
Willems, P. (Le Sénat de la Rép. Romaine), 180, 207.
Wirz, H., 202, 229, 268.
Wölfflin, E., 12, 198, 267, 300.

Xenophon, 5, 225.

Zagouan, 38.
Zama, 280.
Zeugitana, 36, 37, 248, 251.
Ziguenses, 38.
Zouaves, 38.
Zumpt, A. W. (das Criminalrecht der Röm. Rep.), 224, 229, 269.

THE END.